DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 134 430 SE 021 716

TITLE Working for Environmental and Economic Justice & Jobs, Summary of Conference Proceedings: A National Action Conference (Walter and May Reuther UAW Family Education Center, Onaway, Michigan, May 2-6, 1976).

PUB DATE 76

NOTE 158p.; Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.

DESCRIPTORS Community Involvement; *Conferences; *Economics; Employment; *Environment; *Information Dissemination; *Jobs; *Social Problems; *Unions

ABSTRACT

This is a summary of a conference that sought to define current issues relating to jobs and the environment in order to develop specific ways for unions, environmental groups, and other community organizations to work together for environmental quality and economic justice. The conference was intended to share information, develop skills, develop plans for action, and help build information networks and coalitions. The publication includes presentation by various speakers, summaries of workshops, and recommendations from various groups. (RH)

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Summary of
Conference Proceedings

WORKING FOR
Environmental and Economic
JUSTICE & JOBS

A NATIONAL ACTION CONFERENCE

MAY 2-6, 1976

at the

WALTER AND MAY REUTHER
UAW FAMILY EDUCATION CENTER
Onaway, Michigan

SE 021 716

CONFERENCE PLANNING COMMITTEE

LEE BOTTS
Environmental Protection Agency
Region 5

BOB CARVAJAL
Campaign for Human Development

PATTI CHERRY
Consumers Federation of America

MIKE CLARK
Highlander Education and
Research Center

PAUL DANELS
National Urban League

TISH DAVIS
Urban Environment Conference

PATSY FRYMAN
Communications Workers of America

PETER HARNIK
Environmental Action

BOB HAYDEN
United Steelworkers of America

HAZEL HENDERSON
Environmentalists for Full Employment

NORMAN HILL
A. Philip Randolph Institute

ARTHUR KEYS
United Church Board for Homeland
Ministries

DAVID LENNETT
New York Public Interest
Research Group

DIANE MacMAHON
National Council for Senior Citizens

TONY MAZZOCCHI
Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers

CLIFTON MERRITT
The Wilderness Society

STEVE REGENSTREIF
American Federation of State, County
and Municipal Employees

TIM SAMPSON
Citizens Action League

HAL SCOTT
Florida Audubon Society

GEORGE TAYLOR
AFL-CIO

FRANK THURMAN
United Mine Workers

JOHN YOLTON
UAW

LARRY YOUNG
Izaak Walton League

Working for Environmental and Economic Justice and Jobs

At the Walter and May Reuther UAW Family Education Center

WHAT WERE THE GOALS OF THE CONFERENCE?

This national conference sought to define current issues relating to jobs and the environment in order to develop specific ways for unions, environmental groups and other community organizations to work together for environmental quality and economic justice. The conference was intended to:

SHARE INFORMATION

- Explore in depth the unique problems of trade union, environmental groups and other community organizations represented at the conference as they face the conflict between jobs and the environment.

- Analyze the broad economic, political and social forces which underlie these problems.

- Assemble resources and factual information on specific issues that would help determine the consistency of both job preservation and job creation with environmental quality.

DEVELOP SKILLS

- Provide opportunities for people to reflect on and share their experiences, successes and mistakes while working on issues related to employment and the environment.

- Serve as a learning forum where participants can sharpen skills useful in organizing conferences, action programs or coalitions at home.

ORGANIZE

- Develop positions, tactics and strategies for cooperative education and action programs among trade unions, environmental groups and other community organizations that focus on the preservation and creation of jobs for a quality environment at home.

- Begin building information networks, liaisons and coalitions among participants that will support programs related to jobs and the environment on the local, state and regional level to improve the quality of life and achieve economic justice for all people.

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AGENDA

The schedule given below reflects the major points of the conference agenda as they happened.

SUNDAY, MAY 2

7:30 P. M. to 8:30 P. M. - General Assembly - Lecture Hall

Odessa Komer, Vice President, International Union, UAW and Director, Department of Conservation - WELCOME TO THE CONFERENCE!
Leonard Woodcock, President, International Union, UAW - KEYNOTE ADDRESS.
Gerald Wilkinson, Executive Director, National Indian Youth Council, Inc. SPECIAL PRESENTATION

8:45 P. M. to 10:00 P. M. - Core I - Assigned Rooms

MONDAY, MAY 3

8:45 AM to 10:15 AM - General Assembly - Lecture Hall

PANEL: "The Priority Issues for Labor, Environment, and Community and the Conflicts Between Them".
David R. Brower, President, Friends of the Earth (environment)
Gale Cincotta, Chairperson, National Peoples' Action (community)
Tom Donahue, Executive Assistant to the President, AFL-CIO (labor)
Barbara Newman, Investigative Reporter, National Public Radio (moderator)

10:30 AM to 11:45 AM - Core II - Assigned Rooms

1:30 PM to 3:50 PM - General Assembly - Lecture Hall

ANALYSIS

Barry Commoner, Director, Center for the Biology of Natural Systems, Washington University and Chairman, Board of Directors, Scientists Institute for Public Information, New York

4:00 PM to 5:30 PM
Briefing for Community - Mazey's Inn
Convenor: Hulbert James, REAC, Atlanta, Georgia
Briefing for Labor - Rooms J & K
Convenor: Patsy Fryman, Assistant to the President, Communication Workers
Briefing for Environmentalists - Rooms G-H-I
Convenor: Hal Scott, President, Florida Audubon

7:30 PM - Informal meeting with Barry Commoner - Rooms G-H-I

TUESDAY, MAY 4

8:45 AM to 10:15 AM - Workshops

Numbers below in parentheses refer to descriptions and substantive information given in the Tuesday morning section of the proceedings.

Jobs in Pollution Control Industries (#1)	Room A
Energy Conservation (#8)	Room B
Energy Options (#9)	Room C
In-Plant Environment (#12)	Room D
Alternative Work Arrangements (#2)	Board Rm
CETA and Other Federal Funds (#3)	Room F
Appropriate Technologies (#4)	Room G
Growth and the Poor (#7)	Room H
Strip Mined Land and People (#11)	Room I
Transportation and Our Cities (#16)	Mazey 1
Food Policies (#17)	Mazey 2
Raising Funds for Local Organizations (#19)	Room J
Using the Media (#21)	Room K

10:30 AM to 11:45 AM - Workshops

Jobs in Pollution Control Industries (#1)	Room A
Energy Conservation (#8)	Room B
Energy Options (#9)	Room C
In-Plant Environment (#12)	Room D
Pollution or Clean-Up Who Pays? (#5)	Room F
Alternative Economics (#6)	Room G
Powerline for Change: Utilities (#10)	Room H
Organizing for Direct Action (#20)	Room I
Housing and Neighborhood Conservation (#13)	Mazey 1
Toxic Chemicals (#14)	Mazey 2
Politics of Recycling (#15)	Room J
Jobs from Clean Water (#18)	Room K

1:30 PM to 3:00 PM - General Assembly - Lecture Hall

CASE STUDY: "The Mahoning River Valley"

Mike McCloskey, Executive Director, Sierra Club, (Opening Speaker)
Alvin Alm, Asst. Adm. for Planning and Management, EPA
Arnold Barzak, Fin. Sec., USW, Local 1375, Ohio
Bunyan Bryant, Asst. Prof., School of Natural Resources, Univ. of Michigan
Khris Hall, Attorney, Natural Resources Defense Council
Frank Leseganich, Dir., United Steelworkers of America, District 26, Ohio
William Sullivan, Pres., Western Reserve Economic Development Agency

3:15 PM to 4:45 PM - Core IV - Assigned Rooms

TUESDAY, MAY 4

7:30 PM to 8:15 PM - General Assembly - Lecture Hall

ADDRESS
Lillian Benbow, Asst. Dir., Housing Program, Michigan Civil Rights Commission

Announcements of Caucuses

8:30 PM to 9:30 PM - Caucuses - Free Rooms

Caucuses were meetings of particular interest groups. These caucuses were based entirely on the interests of participants. Those wishing to organize a caucus announced it after Lillian Benbow spoke.

NOTE: A conference newsletter - Bread and Roses - was published each night for distribution each morning. Anyone with news or announcements contacted Tom Riesenberg, Environmental Action Foundation; Barbara Clark, Michigan Student Environmental Confederation; Peter Sinclair and Roger Hickey, Public Interest Media Center.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 5

8:45 AM to 10:15 AM - General Assembly - Lecture Hall
ADDRESSES ON THE NEED FOR ORGANIZING
Russell W. Peterson, Chairman, President's Council on Environmental Quality
William R. Hutton, Executive Director, National Council of Senior Citizens

After the addresses, anyone who wished to announce a special workshop or task force did so.

10:30 AM to 11:45 AM - Task Forces and Special Workshops - Free Rooms

Task forces were for those who wished to organize an on-going effort to follow this conference. Anyone who wished to conduct a special workshop on interests of particular concern did so at this time. If they told the Conference Newsletter writers Tuesday night, the workshop or task force was announced in the newsletter.

1:30 PM to 3:00 PM - Task Forces and Special Workshops - Free Rooms

Work on projects begun in the morning continued. More workshops were organized.

3:15 PM to 4:45 PM - Core V - Assigned Rooms

7:30 PM - Celebration of the good work of the conference.

THURSDAY, MAY 6

11:45 AM - General Assembly - Lecture Hall

REPORTS AND SUMMATION

Evaluations in Core Groups, reports from caucuses, task forces and Core Groups. Summation by representatives of each of the three constituencies.

CLOSING: Tim Sampson, Citizens Action League

CORE GROUPS

Core groups were small groups composed of some environmentalists, some trade unionists, and some other community people. The same core group members met together throughout the length of the conference. Four main ideas led to the organization of core groups:

1. To give time to reflect on conference experiences during the conference.
2. To give an opportunity to work with members of labor, environment, and community groups.
3. To give a chance to think about and discuss how the input of the conference applied to specific issues, record the discussions, and share the results.
4. To give a chance to be heard, giving serious attention to the different perspectives represented at the conference.

Core Group Facilitators

Barbara Reid Alexander, Environmental Law Institute, Maine
Margaret Allen, Environmental Education Specialist, Conservation Department, UAW
Sol Baltimore, American Lung Association, Michigan
Francisco Briones, LaFed. de Organizaciones del Valle
Bunyan Bryant, Associate Professor, University of Michigan, School of Natural Resources
Patty Cherry, Consumers Federation of America
Mike Clark, Highlander Education and Research Center
Paul Daniels, National Urban League
Tish Davis, Coordinator, Urban Environment Conference
Jinx Dowd, Upstate Community Resource Institute, Ithaca, New York
John Eleen, Research Director, Ontario Federation of Labor
Helen Fenske, Office of Administration, Environmental Protection Agency
Patsy Fryman, Assistant to the President, Communication Workers of America
Andrea Goldman, Regional Seminar Coordinator, American Association for the Advancement of Science
Theodore Harley, Action for a Better Community, Rochester, New York

Core Group Facilitators (continued)

Debbie Howard, Environmental Affairs, Massachusetts Audubon
Doug Lawson, Catholic Campaign for Human Development
Dan Leahy, Upstate Community Resource Institute, Ithaca, New York
Vivien Li, Member, Board of Directors, League for Conservation Legislation
Andy Marocko, Conservation and Anti-Pollution Committee, Ontarion Federation of Labor
Martha Reynolds, International Representative, UAW Conservation Department
Richard Robbins, Director, Lake Michigan Federation
Tim Sampson, Citizens Action League, California
Harold Schrubbe, United Community Services, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Hal Scott, Executive Director, Florida Audubon
Walter Tytus, Louisville Urban League, Kentucky
Berkley Watterson, International Representative, UAW Community Services
Gerald Wilkinson, Executive Director, National Indian Youth Council, Inc., Albuquerque, New Mexico
Kris Wisniewski, Catholic Campaign for Human Development

Jim Crowfoot, Associate Professor, School of Natural Resources, University of Michigan (Core Groups Coordinator)

ODESSA KOMER, Vice President, UAW, & Director, Department of Conservation-Resource Development

HAL SCOTT, Executive Director, Florida Audubon Society

Ladies and gentlemen. My name is Hal Scott, I am from the Florida Audubon Society. I am one of the members of the Planning Committee which represents many of the groups you will be meeting in various leadership positions in the next few days. I want to assure you, first of all, if you come from one of the community groups or one of the labor groups, this does not mean, since I am the first one to officially say something, that the environmentalists have taken over. It merely demonstrates one thing that I have learned in the last eight months of working with the UAW's people and that is that they are very effective at getting us to do work. I discovered when I got here, after all the nice things they had said, I had a number of jobs to do. One of which in included this. This conference has been eight months in planning and has been the object of a great deal of love and care on the part of the UAWprimarily, and various other groups that are serving as co-sponsors. It is my privilege this evening to introduce to you a gentleman who has been one of the real driving forces behind the effort to get this conference to this point. He has been a real delight to work with. He is the UAW Administrative Assistant to Vice President Odessa Komer, John Yolton.

JOHN YOLTON, Administrative Assistant to Odessa Komer, Vice President and Director, Department of Conservation-Resource Development.

Thank you Hal Scott. Certainly the relationships that have developed out of working with many of the organizations here in this room definitely has been very encouraging to us and I am very grateful for that on behalf of all of us--the conference staff totally, and the Conservation Department staff of Director Komer.

At this time now, to officially open the conference, I would like to call on the Director of the UAW's Department of Conservation-Resource Development. She is singly most responsible for getting us all here because she has allowed turning her own offices into a conference headquarters. We've made many many mailings out of there, and many times I'm afraid the place looked pretty cluttered up. I know all of you in the room realize how many mailings you received from us as we kept you up-to-date or the progress of organizing the conference. So, at this time, the Vice President, UAW, Odessa Komer.

ODESSA KOMER

On behalf of the many co-sponsoring organizations, the convenors and the Steering Committee of this conference--as host sponsor--it is my pleasure to officially open the conference by welcoming you to the Family Education Center, Black Lake.

I feel it most appropriate that this was the site chosen for this conference. I say this because back in 1970, when a serious crisis existed in our environment, the first Earth Day was held in April of that year. An estimated million Americans participated in various programs throughout this country to voice their concerns about the state of our environment. Then in July 1970, this Center hosted a conference of the activists that had played leading roles in the Earth Day programs throughout the United States. That national conference was held to assure that Earth Day 1970 was not the end, but the beginning! That conference contributed to the creation of many environmental organizations, both local and national.

These newly created organizations were responsible for much of the progress achieved in solving environmental problems from 1970 through 1973. We are all aware that environmental progress has slowed down in the last two years.

We are, therefore, hopeful that this conference, held here six years later, will produce positive results comparable to the 1970 conference. After communication with each other here and gaining understanding of each other's problems and goals, it is our hope that vehicles will be found to enable us to be mutually committed to work together in each of our states back home.

As an action follow-up to this conference, if we could just agree to hold joint meetings between our constituents back in our respective states, the value of your participation at this conference will then be greatly magnified.

To this end, I hereby pledge the UAW Conservation Department's continued cooperation and support to assist in organizing follow-up meetings and coalitions in various geographical areas of this country if this conference later this week determines that this suggestion has merit!

In addition to welcoming you, I also have the pleasure of introducing our keynote speaker. Leonard Woodcock's record in speaking out to create jobs for the poor and the unemployed, as well as for environmental quality and energy conservation well qualify him for this conference keynote role. The innovations in solar, wind and water energy demonstration projects implemented here also reflect his total commitment for action programs to achieve our mutual goals. Leonard Woodcock!

LEONARD WOODCOCK, President, International Union, UAW

I greatly appreciate the opportunity to be with you tonight as this crucial conference on jobs and the environment opens and I want to thank the planning committee and chairperson Odessa Komer for inviting me.

During the next five days, we will be talking about one of the most important issues our country has ever faced: the relationship between economic and environmental justice. We'll be discussing the concern of the worker for his job and the concerns of all of us--workers included--for the kind of environment we live in.

Too often, the relationship between jobs and the environment is approached from our individual, and at times, narrow viewpoints. This conference provides a unique opportunity for workers, environmentalists and community people to explore just where those individual interests conflict and where they coincide. As one used to the diverse and frequently boisterous give-and-take of a local union meeting, I'm sure that there will be some issues before us on which we will agree to disagree.

But I think, contrary to what corporate America and the Ford Administration would have the public believe, that there is today more than ever before a common cause between union members and environmentalists--between workers, poor people, minorities and those seeking to protect our natural resources.

I'd like to explore some of the struggles that most of us in this room have in common, because I think too often we are pitted against one another in needless and counterproductive ways. I begin with a simple premise: a strong and healthy economy cannot exist within an unhealthy environment, just as only a strong economy can enable us to achieve that healthy environment.

Corporate and governmental decisions that result in real unemployment rates of more than 10 per cent have inflicted massive personal tragedy on millions of American workers and their families. At the same time, such economic dislocation has, to a degree, dulled the momentum of our struggle to clean-up the environment.

We have, in recent months, been through one of the most devastating economic crises this country has ever experienced. Slightly more than one year ago, we had as many American workers unemployed as there were during the Great Depression of the 1930's. In the auto industry, we had almost 300,000 UAW members out of work at the Big 3 auto companies alone--that's more than one-third of the total workforce. Workers in other industries also suffered severe unemployment.

Today, as the result of a number of developments including the emergency tax cut enacted by the Congress over President Ford's objection, we are experiencing a recovery. But the official jobless figure offered by the Ford Administration of 7.5 per cent is far below the true level of unemployment because the government does not count discouraged and part-time workers.

Our experts and those of the AFL-CIO now estimate that more than nine million people in this country are unemployed. The true jobless rate is close to 10.5 per cent. Within this horrible economic context, the concern of the individual worker for his or her job has probably never been as important. The tremendous insecurity among workers resulting from the Nixon-Ford recession is something those in corporate boardrooms are quite aware of and ready to turn to their advantage.

Environmental blackmail has been going on for years. But it is in times such as these that the corporate tactic of trying to make workers and communities choose between jobs or ending pollution can be most effective. It's frequently a false conflict, but to a worker confronted with the loss of wages, health care benefits and pension rights, it can seem very real.

If we had a full employment economy in America today, corporate polluters would have a far more difficult time with environmental blackmail. The Union Carbide's, the Allied Chemical's, the U.S. Steel's and the General Motors's would be far less successful in selling the myth that workers must sacrifice their jobs if we are to have a clean environment.

Those of us in the labor movement have offered a number of ideas to get America back to work. Many of those ideas are embodied in the Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act, known informally as the Hawkins-Humphrey Bill. There are many reasons why those of you in the environmental movement should and hopeful-

ly will join the labor movement in pushing hard to get this crucial legislation through the Congress.

One is that the Hawkins-Humphrey bill, which mandates the federal government to bring unemployment down to 3 per cent within four years, would be a major step toward ending environmental blackmail.

Its full employment features, including public service jobs, would remove much of the tremendous fear a worker inevitably feels when his company threatens to shut down rather than comply with environmental regulations.

Most of us here tonight who represent the labor movement have had numerous occasions in which corporations were able to rouse great fear among rank-and-file union members by such threats. General Motors, several years ago, for example, refused to comply with federal law and continued to dump industrial waste into the Hudson River from its Tarrytown, New York, plant. When the government took GM into court, the corporation shifted the offending operation to Baltimore. The local newspaper commented: "This put several hundred local employes out of jobs--a gentle hint to the rest that they, too, might join the unemployed if Hudson River Valley residents push too hard for a quick cleanup of the river."

When GM went to court, government attorneys told the judge: "We have been told by General Motors people that 'If we couldn't dump anything into the Hudson River, we would have to close down and thousands would lose their jobs.'" That maneuver, which has been repeated thousands of times, has a very real impact on working people and their communities. And while the threatened shutdowns usually do not materialize, once again workers have been held hostage against proper environmental enforcement.

We're seeing it today in another situation involving the Hudson River. This time it's General Electric, which has been dumping a man-made synthetic chemical known as poly-chlorinated bi-phenyls or PCB's into the Hudson. PCB's, as many of you know, resemble DDT in chemical structure and persist in the ecological food chain. They have, according to researchers who have conducted experiments with laboratory animals, a potential for inducing cancer.

A study done by New York state indicates that there are 458,000 pounds of PCB's in the Hudson and 81 per cent of them are within 10 miles of General Electric's two capacitor plants there. It's estimated that more than 84,000 pounds of the dangerous substance have been dumped into the river by GE since 1966. Commercial fishing for most species has been banned because of high PCB content.

Workers at GE represented by the Electrical Workers union spoke out against the company's actions, when they began to learn about the potential toxic effects of PCB's. But company threats to close the two plants, which are both very old and have antiquated pipes and drainage systems, undermined much of the drive by workers to force proper handling of the toxic chemical.

Last week, G. E. quietly admitted its role in fouling the Hudson and offered to pay what officials estimate as about 10 per cent of the cost of dredging the upper Hudson to remove the PCB's. GE's offer was, incredibly, contingent upon the state signing a statement that the company acted in "good faith" during the time it was dumping the 84,000 pounds into the river.

I believe in a full employment economy--the kind of economy that the Hawkins-Humphrey bill seeks to achieve --the GM's and the GE's are going to have a much harder time practicing their environmental blackmail. Both the labor movement and the environmental movement would benefit. This is an area in which a coalition is not only possible, but in fact probable.

There is another such area in which a strong alliance between working people and environmentalists must occur and that is the fight against in-plant pollution. Jobs may be the key issue facing the labor movement right now, but just as pressing is the fight to protect the health and safety of those who are employed. It is the responsibility of the environmental movement to become even more involved in the issue of the environment inside the workplace.

Objective, independent scientific research has proven the existence of health problems which until now workers could only suspect. We in the labor movement are glad for that help. But workers need allies in the political fight to set better standards for workplace contaminants. We need the political muscle of the environmental movement to help us counteract corporate efforts to weaken occupational health and safety legislation and regulations. We need your help in our fight against the under-funding and under-enforcement of the safety and health programs which do exist.

Let's turn again to those GE plants that have fouled the Hudson with PCB's. There has been a commendable interest by officials and the general public in forcing GE to limit its polluting of the river with PCB's. But

what about the workers in the plant who worked around this toxic, man-made chemical? If GE was dumping 84,000 pounds into the river in the last 10 years, then certainly the workers in that plant were being exposed and endangered. They weren't picking up traces by eating Hudson River fish. They were working with the dangerous chemical every day.

So far the company itself has admitted that at least 65 employes have become ill as a direct result of exposure to PCB's. The initial reactions include allergic dermatitis, fungus infections, asthmatic bronchitis, chronic nausea, dizziness and eye problems. As with so many of the chemicals to which workers are being exposed, the long term effects have not been definitively established. The fact, however, that scientists have documented that PCB exposure induces cancer in some laboratory animals is frightening, at the very least.

There must be a much greater attention paid by those in the scientific and environmental communities to such examples of workplace pollutions. Barry Commoner, whom you will be hearing during this conference, has made the very excellent point that the potential hazards of PCB were initially discovered in the workplace back in 1933, shortly after it was introduced. It wasn't until 30 years later that questions began to be raised about the substance, when it began to show up in fish and birds.

Commoner cites and entire issue of the journal, Environmental Health Perspectives devoted to PCB ecology as an example of the differing degrees of interest in its impact on the workplace as opposed to the general environment. "The discovery of (PCB's) in fish from the Baltic Sea in 1966 attracted widespread attention among scientists," Environmental Health Perspectives notes, while 30 years before, when PCB's in the workplace were found to cause severe skin problems, little interest was shown.

The environmental magazine went on to state: "In the early days of its use, little work was done on the toxicology of the PCB's, and this was only in relation to the risks of occupational exposure... many more studies were made as soon as it appeared that the extremely stable PCB's became a threat to the environment and its wildlife, and accidents occurred of acute poisoning in man and animals." Another article, which notes that the exact chemical composition of PCB's had not been determined, goes on to state:

"There probably was no incentive to determine the real nature of all the components as far as the industrial value of the product was concerned, but now that it has been found that there are untoward biological effects from these products... there is need for more knowledge than is now available."

Put simply, there wasn't much scientific interest in studying PCB's as long as they were destroying the health of workers. When they showed up in fish and eagles, though, then suddenly it becomes worthy of intensive scientific investigation. It is exactly this kind of double standard that angers those of us in the labor movement so much.

Fortunately, the situation is changing, but it's not changing fast enough. There is still one set of pollution standards for the general public and another for workers. Let's look at clean air standards. Three air pollutants for which community limits have been set are carbon monoxide, sulfur dioxide and oxides of nitrogen.

The allowable concentration of carbon monoxide in the plant is 50 parts per million, eight hours a day, every day. But outside the plant, the limit is nine parts per million for only one day per year. For sulfur dioxides, the workplace limit is five parts per million, while the community limit is one-tenth as high--and then for only three hours once a year. Likewise, the allowable limit for oxides of nitrogen in the plant is 10 times the limit set for community air.

I am not in a position to debate the scientific evidence for these different levels of allowable exposure. Both sets of standards are often exceeded by actual pollution levels. But I am deeply troubled that where parallel standards exist, a much larger exposure to toxic chemicals is permitted inside the plant than outside.

The elimination of pollutants in the plant has always been a goal of the labor movement. The growth of the environmental movement has focused attention on the long-term effects of occupational chemical exposures and has spurred new effort on the part of many unions, including the UAW. We have included new safeguards in our contracts, trained safety and health committeemen and expanded our professional staff. But the problems go beyond what labor can achieve in collective bargaining, or solely with its own forces in the political arena.

Here again, as in the drive for full employment, I think workers and environmentalists can create a strong alliance that will benefit everyone. In order for many of the chemicals to get into our air, our streams and ultimately our bodies, they first appear in heavy and toxic amounts in industrial plants.

The mercury that a UAW worker is exposed to in a gauge-manufacturing plant can cause severe central ner-

vous system damage and impaired kidney function if the company handles it improperly. And that mercury also can make its way into the outside environment to become a potential health hazard. Vinyl chloride which rubber workers have been exposed to now is known to cause liver cancer--it is present outside the work environment in many plastics, such as car interiors and various food packages.

Asbestos, which has caused extremely high cancer rates in workers exposed to it in the plants, has shown up in nearby communities. BCME, an industrial resin, has given workers exposed to it a cancer rate eight times normal. It's used in the production of sugar, wine and water purification systems. Pesticides, enzymes, fluorocarbon--the list could go on and on.

These environmental hazards are very real and major efforts are needed to see that they are properly controlled. But we must remember that in so many cases these are not general environmental problems alone, but real occupational health hazards as well.

I have been very encouraged by the support many environmentalists have evidenced for the Toxic Substances Control Bill now before the Congress. They have been among the most effective and outspoken supporters of that crucial legislation, which would mandate testing of all potentially toxic chemicals and regulate their manufacture, usage and disposal. In addition, that Bill would protect employes against corporate retaliation if they "blow the whistle" on hazardous conditions. If it is finally enacted, and I strongly hope it will be, the government will finally have a chance to control toxic substances before they are introduced into the workplace and, ultimately, into the general environment. The alliance between environmentalists, labor unions, consumer and community groups backing the Bill is an excellent beginning toward a stronger, continuing effort to clean up in-plant pollution as well as out-of-plant pollution.

The people who are opposed to that alliance and who are doing what they can to put it on the skids use the same approach on workplace health and safety that they employ on environmental controls. The corporate executive's message to workers who complain about health and safety conditions often is: keep quiet or we'll have to shut down. The reality is that they seldom do shut down, and when plant closures do occur that are attributed to safety enforcement, closer investigation often reveals that the operation was old, outmoded and unprofitable for other reasons. Yet to a worker worried about losing his or her job, health and safety blackmail can have the same devastating effect as environmental blackmail.

OSHA enforcement of safety and health legislation has aroused great whimpering from companies which would like to take us back to the 1800's. But the statistics show few plant closures because of OSHA enforcement. Similarly, the Environmental Protection Agency reported in a letter sent to Labor Secretary William Usery on April 12 of this year that since January, 1971, only 76 industrial plant closings or curtailments involving 25 or more jobs have occurred for which pollution control was cited as even a significant factor. These closings of plants of all types, including foundries, have involved 16,500 jobs.

The idea that businesses will be driven to bankruptcy and massive numbers of jobs will be lost if strict safety and environmental standards are adopted is the same tired line that has been brought up again and again by companies down through the years. They tried that argument when child labor was eliminated, when the minimum wage was introduced, when Social Security and Unemployment Insurance were developed.

But in difficult economic times, the great fear of job loss can override these facts at times. During hard times or in certain localities, there are few alternative jobs and a far greater psychological vulnerability. Legislation to protect workers from damages suffered in plant shutdowns or layoffs resulting from environmental regulation or other reasons would be a practical, substantial step towards controlling and distributing the burden of change. It would free workers from the fear, skillfully played upon by environment-ravaging employers, that vigorous action to protect the environment must mean loss of jobs.

The National Employment Priorities Act, also called the Mondale-Ford Bill, is a step in this direction. The Bill would require that a business intending to close or transfer a large portion of the operations of an establishment give written advance notice of its intent. The notice is to include the reasons for closing, the extent of the potential unemployment, the economic circumstances of the establishment and the concern, and plans to alleviate the economic loss to affected employees. Upon request of affected employees, an investigation of the circumstances of the closing or transfer would be made by the government. A report would be made on the economic justification for the closing or transfer, the potential economic losses, and recommendations for alleviating the losses or making unnecessary the closing or transfer.

Federal adjustment assistance to workers under the Act would include income, pension and health benefit maintenance, as well as job placement, retraining and relocation assistance. Communities could also receive benefits. For the business, technical and financial assistance would be offered to head off the shutdown.

However, if the proposed closing or transfer of operations is found to be unjustified, or if the business establishment refuses to accept assistance which would make shutdown unnecessary, then certain federal tax benefits including the investment tax credit, the foreign tax credit and the treatment of some expenses for tax purposes would be withdrawn for up to ten years.

It is a widely accepted principle--although one all too often ignored in practice--that the burdens and sacrifices required by an action taken in the service of the interests of the whole society should be shared equitably by all who benefit from that action. They should not be allowed to fall disproportionately upon some who are innocent victims of it. Certainly, purification of the environment is in the interests of all citizens. All of us will ultimately pay in increased taxes and often, unfortunately, in higher prices for steps taken publicly and privately to avoid, eliminate or reduce pollution. Increased taxes and higher prices will also be paid by the workers who stand to lose their jobs, temporarily or permanently, as a result of plant shutdowns resulting from environmental problems. They and their families should not be asked, in addition, to pay with loss of income and valuable fringe benefit protections.

Many labor unions have supported environmental legislation. To be credible the environmental movement must also push hard to prevent the costs of pollution control from falling on the victims and avoid the implied view that factory workers are partners in pollution with the corporations. The ecological principles which link jobs and the environment dictate that there can be no one dimensional solution.

I've urged here tonight that workers and environmental advocates join together to fight for full employment, because without jobs and a healthy economy we'll never achieve a healthy environment. I've asked for even greater efforts by environmentalists in labor's fight to control workplace pollution. We have talked about the need for coalitions to fight for legislation in which all of us have a stake, such as control of toxic substances and limits on plant closures combined with federal assistance to workers who lose jobs from such closures.

All of these subjects, which would further the goals of both labor and environmentalists, are political. Spending as much time in Washington as I do, I suspected for some time that many of the politicians that are most hostile to the labor movement are equally as hostile to the environmental movement. Before I left Detroit to come to Black Lake, I decided to do some research on this point.

I'm sure most of us here are familiar with the annual listing of the so-called "Dirty Dozen"--the 12 Congressmen whom Environmental Action rates as having horrible environmental records. I took this year's list of the Dirty Dozen and compared their voting records on labor issues. They were, without exception, terrible.

The UAW publishes congressional voting records on 20 key issues, ranging from public service jobs to aid to education. On those labor issues, the Dirty Dozen had five members who voted against labor on 95 per cent or more of those issues. Another six voted against labor on 75 per cent or more of the issues. The best the Dirty Dozen could muster was Rep. White, a Texas Democrat who only voted against labor 50 per cent of the time.

Clearly, in addition to fighting similar battles with the same corporations, workers and environmentalists have good reason to wage political war jointly on the many political foes we both have on Captiol Hill, and in state and local government as well.

I would suggest, too, that, now more than ever, we must join together to bring new leadership to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. The time has come to end the lease Richard Nixon gave to Gerald Ford during the depths of Watergate.

I think of the hundreds and hundreds of tragic stories that have made their way to my desk during this Nixon-Ford recession. I think of the incredible impact unemployment has had on America. I think of the alcoholism, the drug abuse, the suicides, the child abuse, the divorce, the mental and physical illness. I think of the loss of dignity and feelings of worth that occurs when you sit home day after day--waiting, hoping, even begging to go back to work.

I'm sure many of you know the case against Gerald Ford on environmental issues far better than I do. His record in the Congress was atrocious on both labor and environment. In the less than two years he's been President, Ford has resisted virtually every environmental initiative from the Congress. He's vetoed crucial bills, such as the strip mine control legislation that had both labor and environmental support. He's tried to gut the toxic substances act. Instead of backing efforts to check the flood of potential carcinogens into our food, water and air, he's done the opposite. He's opposed land use planning but he's for giving away offshore oil leases at bargain basement prices.

The record is so clear on labor and environmental issues that only one conclusion can be reached: Gerald Ford has to go in November.

I would guess there is probably no issue on which everyone in this room would be in greater agreement on than the need for strong, positive new leadership in the White House.

I hope, too, that in the coming days we can delve in real detail into the other areas around which we as workers, environmentalists and community residents can coalesce. I've tried to focus tonight on the many issues on which we can and should make common cause. Without question there will be other issues that will evoke strong and vigorous disagreement and that is understandable given our differing situations.

We will hear from many prominent environmental experts and I'm sure those of us in the labor movement will learn a great deal. I hope, too, that all of us will remember that workers are people, too. They and their unions care about the environment. And they are usually the first to suffer when it's polluted.

Workers want the Chesapeake Bay to be saved, and the San Francisco Bay, too. In their precious time off, they'd like to be able to fish in clean water or walk in the redwoods. When they drink water, they want it to be clean. When they eat, they don't want a chemical feast fouling their food. I'm sure most think furs look better on their original owners than on the shoulders of Scarsdale socialites. They don't want the land they hunt and hike in to disappear under water backed up by unnecessary dams.

These aren't just idle thoughts. The Conservation Department of the UAW, which Odessa Komer directs, has put our union's political power to work on many of these issues. For years, we fought against unsafe nuclear power plant development, spending thousands of dollars in court suits and organizing actions. We've strongly opposed the Concorde SST. We've joined public interest groups in the fight to fund mass transit programs and divert public funds to mass transit from the Highway Trust Fund. We strongly believe America must wean itself from too great a dependence on the automobile and must develop a more balanced transportation system.

We've not only advocated energy conservation, but have begun implementing such programs ourselves. Instead of tilting at windmills, the UAW is building them. Last summer wind-powered electrical generating equipment was installed here at our Family Education Center. Solar heating equipment was also installed. We expect to make a substantial saving on our energy costs, as well as demonstrating new sources of energy.

We in the UAW are proud of our commitment to environmental issues. Many other unions have reason to be proud as well. My good friend Cesar Chavez and the members of the United Farm Workers played the pivotal role in forcing regulation of many pesticides. The United Mine Workers urged enactment of strip mining legislation. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers has pioneered in the effort to bring toxic chemicals, such as asbestos and mercury under control. The Steelworkers have fought to control smelter emissions.

Not all of these efforts have been as effective or successful as we would hope, but they clearly again point the way to the many concerns the labor and environmental movements have in common. I have asked tonight for your consideration and support of full employment legislation, for a new alliance to fight workplace pollution, for help in passing legislation that would help limit environmental blackmail, and for political action to elect pro-worker and pro-environment candidates.

These potential areas of mutual interest are not an end, but rather a beginning. I look forward to the task we all have of defining the fight for environmental and economic justice in the coming days of this meeting.

Thank you very much.

GERALD WILKINSON, Executive Director, National Indian Youth Council

HAL SCOTT, Executive Director, Florida Audubon Society

It is my pleasure now to introduce to you our next speaker, Gerald Wilkinson, Executive Director of the National Indian Youth Council. Gerry was born on the Cherokee reservation in North Carolina and went on to Duke University on a scholarship where he obtained a degree in history and political science which he has since put to good work.

He is, as I mentioned, the Executive Director of a 15,000 member association, the National Indian Youth Council which is headquartered in Albuquerque, New Mexico. The Council was the Indian coordinator for the poor peoples' campaign in 1968. Currently, it is concerned with reservation and rural problems. It's major effort at the moment is directed toward those problems arising out of energy development on Indian land. It is my great pleasure to introduce to you Gerald Wilkinson, Executive Director of the National Indian Youth Council to discuss "An Indian Perspective on the Environment."

GERALD WILKINSON:

Thank you very much.

I would like to thank the United Auto Workers for this opportunity to speak to you at this conference. What I am going to say to you will probably be different from what you will be hearing for the rest of this meeting. I want to talk about the environment from an Indian perspective.

Talking about the environment is difficult for an Indian to do without talking about everything else because the Indian view of life is circular not linear and this makes the creation of categories difficult. You know if you think of life as a series of categories you can relate to each one separately and individually. You can relate to jobs, then you can relate to trees, then you can relate to people. Indian people don't deal with things this way. We have a relationship with all of it at once. There is quite a bit of difference between relating to something and having a relationship with it.

Indians are looking at what other Americans are doing and we are very concerned. We view them as sort of child geniuses who have invented all sorts of dangerous toys, but don't have the wisdom to know what to do with them. It is as if you came home one day and saw your child prodigy son playing on the floor with a hand grenade he had invented. It's the same feeling Indian people get when some guy shows up on the coal field where they are living and where their grandfathers are buried, with a drag line. What has happened to human beings who would dispossess other human beings to make a profit?

You can do that if you relate to categories. You can relate to profit and after you've strip-mined a people out of existence, you can relate to social rehabilitation. It's like dropping an atomic bomb on a city because you want to win the war, and then with no remorse, paying the hospital bills of the survivors. There's no relationship with the whole.

As we see it, a basic problem is how people look at this country. It seems to us that Americans do not look at their country as space. Americans do not look at their country as an area between the Atlantic and the Pacific, Canada and Mexico. America to them is an ideal, an abstraction, a notion of progress, embodied in the Constitution. If you did away with the Constitution, people would believe they no longer had a country. The idea would have been destroyed.

The Indian Community is not based on an ideal, it is based on space. A piece of land where you live, where your ancestors are buried, and where a culture takes place. What the tribal constitution says doesn't matter. Who is tribal chairman doesn't really matter. If they disappeared, it would change nothing fundamentally. Indian culture is based on tradition, and personal and family relationships which take place in space. So that space becomes sacred. We wonder how people who do not conceive of themselves in terms of space can deal with the environment.

It is perhaps ironic that this country and others have spent so much time trying to destroy tribal societies and now may very well need those values still practiced in those societies to survive. You know Europeans are not a non-tribal society, they are a detribalized society. For 99% of man's life on earth he was a tribal being. We

are now in that 1% of time where man has detribalized himself. It seems logical that if for 99% of his history man was tribal, that that tribal experience must have left its mark. Indians say that one reason for the social confusion among western man is that those old tribal institutions were never adequately replaced by other institutions. It's hard to deny 99% of your existance. Even though we are the poorest minority in the country, we look around and we see that people are rich but have lost their identity. A person spends his whole life trying to find out who he is. A tribal person, on the other hand, knows who he is very young, and can get on with other things. We see that people can no longer perceive their interest in terms of everybody else. An Indian cannot conceive of his own survival outside of the context of survival of the community. If you want to sell an Indian on an economic system showing how it will make him richer is not enough, you have to show him it will make him happier.

People who are culturally confused and lack a strong identity are always pushing their values on someone else. They have to get others to think like them and act like them so they can reaffirm their own worth. It seems that this is where the country is headed.

I was once talking to a non-Indian social scientist about the sad social state of the country. Finally, he said, "You know, I agree with you. But remember one thing, no matter how low we sink, no matter how our families break up, no matter how much crime we generate, there is one thing that you Indians cannot take away from us and that is racial superiority."

This comment was intended as a joke, but something about it rang true to me. Indian people have had a long history as victims of economic practices. The East Coast was stripped of its Indians who were shipped to the Indies to harvest sugar. The five tribes in the Southeast were marched on foot to Oklahoma because gold was thought to be on their land. The Sioux lost almost all of their lands for the same reasons. In Mexico during the Spanish conquest, anthropologists say that 18 million Indians died in a 20-year period. All over South America Indians were used as slaves in the mines and in the fields. Spain had a full employment policy. Its gross national product was never better.

So, economic progress has been made in great blind leaps with little regard to the people dispossessed, nor is there any regard for the social consequences to those who are supposed to benefit from this progress. Not only are Indians slated for dispossession, but Appalachians, rural Blacks, ranchers, and farmers and small communities in general will also have the blessings of strip-mining and air pollution extended to them. People will pour into the cities out of a denuded countryside and the rootlessness of this society will grow by leaps and bounds.

The resources of the earth are finite and are limited. The linear view of progress seems to be coming to an end. Perhaps the circular view of the tribal man needs to be considered. Perhaps people in this society should be offered less challenge and more satisfaction. To get the earth, the real mother of us all, one would have to commit even greater injustices.

I am not suggesting that this country re-tribalize itself, but I am suggesting that it look back into its past to find approaches for the future. Don't forget that for every one civilization you can name that's fallen, I can name you twenty tribes that are still going. Perhaps we should encourage our children not to live better than their forefathers, but to strive to live as well.

There's a story that Indian people in the southwest tell their children. It involves an old man who was reputed to be the wisest man in the village. One day some children decided to test him. They caught a little bird and decided they would go to him with the little bird behind their back and ask him if what they had in their hand was alive or dead. If he said it was alive they would crush the bird. If he said it was dead they would let it fly away. So they went to him holding the bird behind their back. They said, "Old man, is what we have behind our back alive or dead?" The old man looked at them and said, "The answer to that question my children is in your hands."

You have become a powerful people and you have caught a little bird and hold it in your hands. I hope that you will find the wisdom to let it fly away.

THE PRIORITY ISSUES FOR LABOR, ENVIRONMENT, AND COMMUNITY AND THE CONFLICTS BETWEEN THEM

BARBARA NEWMAN, Investigative Reporter, National Public Radio (Moderator)

Good Morning! I thank you very much. Much to my chagrin I was wondering why I was asked to be moderator to this panel and I learned that the convenors of this conference had their own interesting agenda and they thought I was mean enough to wake you all this morning. Tim Sampson says agitate Newman. Remember that dissonance, not harmony, is the music of democracy. So we are going to try to do a little agitating and questioning and maybe not accept statements that people make on the terms that they are making them.

Let me introduce the panel to you. Starting at that end we have David Brower, who is President of the Friends of the Earth, the environment segment of the consortium of three organizations, environment, labor and community groups that we are trying to talk about as how there can be a common ground for working together cooperatively in the future. Next to David Brower is Gale Cincotta who is the Chairwoman, I hate the term Chairperson--I think it's one of those neuter terms of our times and so please Chairwoman, of the National Peoples Action which is based in Chicago. That's a community group with ties to more than 30 groups around the country. And then Tom Donahue who represents big labor, Executive Assistant to the President of the AFL-CIO, George Meany.

I am supposed to make some comments as to my own experiences reporting what conflicts I have seen between environmentalists and the labor movement. Let me start off at saying that I think the labor movement itself has come to environmental issues, especially occupational health, quite late. They certainly were not at the vanguard of the proletariat at this issue in the last few years regarding a setting of standards for carcinogens such as asbestos, berillium and vinyl chloride. There have been two people who have worked very hard on this: Frank Wallich of the UAW, Tony Mazzocchi of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union working with Syd Wolfe of Ralph Nader's Health Research Group in terms of full-time commitments that is about it. I think that the AFL-CIO and Mr. Meany have turned around on this issue in the last two years or so. They have convened high level task forces. Pete Bommarito of the Rubber Workers is very active in one of them and reflected at least in their writings, they are making an effort to try and see that Americans don't have to pay the price of their lives by the fact that they hold a job. Something that I myself still can't accept. Let me tell you something interesting, the first time I did an occupational health story was about two and a half years ago. It was with Tony Mazzocchi and it had to do with a plant up in Hazelton, Pennsylvania where workers were being exposed to toxic levels of berillium dust and they would get an irreversible lung disease, berillium lung poisoning. Being a reporter, I found, My God, if they know that they actually have berillium lung disease and several of them were identified as such by the Massachusetts General Hospital, wouldn't they be outraged? Wouldn't they think it terrible? Wouldn't they hate the company? Wouldn't they want to leave their jobs? I went up there thinking enthusiastically that that was going to be my story and guess what---it wasn't. They said, "Hey, girl reporter, we have to survive." Eighty-five dollars a week some of them made, and they continued to expose themselves to what they knew would be known death, because they felt they had no choice. One of them put it like this to me. I think that I'll never forget it, "What's my choice, to stay and die or to leave and starve?" I found that over and over again with the workers in vinyl chloride and asbestos. They fight the efforts of their own unions, those who are trying to move them from toxic exposure to chemicals, high levels, because of the fear of losing jobs which is a very real thing.

So having disposed of the labor participation, let me say something about the consortium of environmentalist and labor. My own feeling is that many people in the labor movement regard environmentalists as kind of middle class and upper-class snobs. The haves of the world who don't want to allow other people to enter the ranks of the haves, the people that say growth is not important, the people that say you must look for less material rewards in life. People who have the options to say that. The labor people I have talked with want. I think it is a very human desire to try and better yourself so that your children can live better than you did, so the things in life that some environmentalist might reject, they very validly see as theirs, and if you look at what's happening in the nuclear debate, at least in California, you see a very interesting alignment between industry and labor on one hand vs. the middle class environmentalist on the other. And that is the coalition which is the cement of which is self-interest, as perceived by labor and industry on one side fighting the middle and upper class environmentalist. A very interesting situation happened recently, I went to an Atomic Industrial Forum meeting in Atlanta and Peter Brennan, the former Secretary of Labor, was supposed to address the group and he sent in his surrogate instead--not from the labor movement, but from industry, from a power company to give the speech that he would have given. I really found that that was quite interesting to think about. All right. We are going to talk about differences among the three groups and try to see if there can be any differences which can be reconciled any areas of cooperation which can be forged. First I am going to ask Gale Cincotta to speak.

GALE CINCOTTA, Chairwoman, National Peoples' Action, Chicago (Community)

GALE CINCOTTA, Chairwoman, National Peoples' Action, Chicago (Community)

During this conference, I've been hearing a lot about the conflict between environmentalists and labor people, and then, kind of over there on the side, a word now and then about community people. Our interest, as we organize community people through National People's Action, is preserving neighborhoods. People live in neighborhoods, and neighborhoods make up cities. When we talk about environment to the environmentalists, they don't understand that environment includes the 10,000 abandoned buildings in Detroit, the 4,000 abandoned HUD homes in Chicago, the 2,000 in Wilmington, Delaware. The crime statistics are ever rising, and crime destroys our environment. As I heard my Indian friend talk last night about the disbandment of tribes, I was thinking that maybe the only place left where people live as tribes is the neighborhood, and that the neighborhood may be the closest connecting link between our various groups, the family--the tribe--the neighborhood.

We see one community destroyed after another, more and more people displaced, to a new home, a new job, in the suburbs, all in the name of growth, and I feel that it is time the unions started thinking in new terms. Just as you are talking about retooling, you should be talking about rehabilitating our neighborhoods, not just the existing housing stock, but the sidewalks, the schools, education, seniors, as a mark of the country growing.

When we are in Washington fighting against redlining and to get the banks and savings and loans to give us loans in our communities, we find the home builders talking about why they need new housing starts, and we see that as helping to destroy our neighborhoods, our family units. Building more highways out there, taking up the land, we see as destruction of our cities. If you put all the abandoned one-to-four unit FHA buildings in one spot, you'd have the 12th largest city in the United States. Empty homes, nobody living in them.

When you think about it, in Detroit alone, there are 10,000 abandoned buildings, and still when you talk about the economy, all you hear is that the economy is geared to new cars! That's just more encouragement to the "throw away society" that's been foisted on us,--that older people, older homes, older neighborhoods are expendable. It's so much a part of the publicity that comes out, that you have to have a new car, a new home or the economy will fall apart in a couple of years. We got Romney from Detroit for Secretary of HUD, and he built homes that fell apart like the new cars. We can no longer afford that.

Yes, we want full employment, but I think this country has to start thinking about what kind of employment. Let's get back to some of the crafts, let's go back to being able to get a refrigerator repaired in a day so that it will work again. And let's start thinking about how we can have full employment without destruction. People who belong to the unions live in the neighborhoods. But how does employment in Detroit add up when the neighborhoods where the working people live are destroyed? How do you benefit people who are working when they loose their life savings in their homes and neighborhoods? I don't know if this is working for the betterment of anybody, or for the benefit of anybody. We finally got the disclosure bill passed last year, and for the first time consumers will be able to know where their savings go, why we can't get loans.

I think that as a coalition we have a lot in common, but may not always see it that way. Barbara said that some of the people see environmentalists as elitist, I don't know. But I do know that when kids get bitten by rats, and when kids die from lead poisoning--and that's happening in a lot of our city neighborhoods, then I see that as an environmental issue. We in National People's Action are working this year on getting Congress to come up with what we call a National Neighborhood Reinvestment Policy. If we can get this, it will be the first time in the United States that there was a policy directed towards people and neighborhoods. We equate it to the Marshall Plan for cities in Europe. When after World War II somebody made a decision that the European cities should be saved, they put together the brains and they put together the money, and they did it. Nobody in the United States has made that decision for American cities. Nobody in Congress has said that neighborhoods are important, people live in neighborhoods and they are worth saving. So let's develop a policy with incentives, tax breaks, subsidies, what have you, and we'll go on from there.

I'd like to leave you with that thought, and I would like to invite you to our fifth national conference June 13 and 14 in Washington at Georgetown University where you will see grassroots people dealing with FHA, redlining, Community Development Act money, senior housing, crime issues, and fighting the corporations. We're not as well organized yet as the unions and the environmentalist groups, but we're growing and we're going to make it and we'd like to have you on our side.

Thank you.

DAVID R. BROWER, President, Friends of the Earth (Environment)

BARBARA NEWMAN, Investigative Reporter, National Public Radio (Moderator)

David Brower, President of Friends of the Earth, I know you have prepared remarks, but could you also address yourself to what Gale raised. That you ought to recognize that the inner city is also the environment and are you interested in doing anything about that?

DAVID R. BROWER, President, Friends of the Earth (Environment)

"I would like to see 200,000 to 300,000 auto workers build mass transit instead of automobiles," the man said. It was about six years ago that Walter Reuther said this to me as we contemplated a joint conference to be held here at Black Lake under the general subject, "Is Survival Politically Feasible". His tragic death occurred soon thereafter, just a day or two I was to have flown here to discuss our joint plans further. We are most grateful, therefore, that this group has been brought together now.

You have already heard part of my assignment today. The rest of it is in the letter of invitation: "We'd like you to outline the most basic concerns of environmental groups today as you see them. What are your goals for social change and why? Is your constituency involved in community issues like health care or housing? In job issues? If so why, and if not, why not?"

The answer to the fourth and fifth questions is yes. The other answers will take a little longer.

I did not arrive early enough to hear Leonard Woodcock's keynote speech, but I have read it. As was true of his speech in Los Angeles a few months ago, I found not one word in it with which I could disagree. So what I say here may be disappointing to some people. I am more likely to disagree with some of the environmentalists here, whose positions I am supposed to be stating in brief, than with anything Leonard Woodcock said.

Let me open with an apology. I am not entitled to speak for all the environmentalists, but I can speak for what Friends of the Earth thinks and what some of the environmental organizations we have been working with may also think.

When Friends of the Earth first started work, in 1969, our first big job was to try to shoot down the SST, one of the things the nation most did not need. We had a lot of support from labor in that effort, and were pleased, in return and because it was right, to support the strike against Shell Oil, which was then reluctant to disclose information about unwelcome chemicals in their working environment.

We have been working on that general theme ever since. When Joe Browder was our Conservation Director, he made sure that we got into battles in behalf of the indoor working environment as well as the outdoor environment. We are still concerned, and intend to increase our efforts in behalf of the working environment, and hope that labor will increase its concern about the environment working people must live in for the 130 or so hours per week that they are outside the working place.

Our general attitude is epitomized in a question Henry David Thoreau asked, "What is the use of a house if you haven't got a tolerable planet to put it on?" I would ask, What's the use of having a job or being an environmentalist, if you've got only a dead planet to work on or to be an environmentalist on? We have something going for all of us here. I hope that we will end up with a new coalition--a coalition that can undo the losses sustained in the Nixon-Ford years, which I think outdo the losses the environmental movement has known in my lifetime. That's been going on rather longer than I care to admit--64 years.

Whether you call it the crisis of job scarcity, or energy wastage, or of a vanishing environment, the ingredients are the same, and the world is floundering in a search for solutions. Finite resources have been spent as if there were no future to worry about. A policy of exponential growth has been followed avidly with little heed to how much or how severely it steals from our children. When suddenly the future arrives, as it now has, replete with shortages, unemployment, and inflation, we seek assorted abstractions to blame it on. Hardly anyone wants to admit that we and Old Mother Hubbard have something in common.

Now energy is so ubiquitous in the news, if nowhere else, that it can serve well as an example of spectacular mismanagement by all of us. In the United States most leaders in government, industry, and labor have persuaded most users to join in advocating a course of strength through exhaustion. Solve the energy shortage by using energy faster. Invest vast sums of talent and capital on this nonsolution. Threaten foreign suppliers if

they seek to interfere with it. To avoid dependence upon OPEC, exhaust U.S. reserves rapidly, onshore and offshore, even though the U.S. has only 5 per cent of the world's oil. Build supertankers, superports, and superrefineries at great speed so as to use up OPEC oil faster too. End the problem of oil pollution by getting rid of oil.

To replace exhausted fossil fuels in time, take short cuts toward a nuclear future. Forget that it is the same atom, whether it's in a fist or a glove. To end nuclear proliferation, sell reactors and nuclear services to all. Never mind that the radiation buildup in a big reactor is the equivalent of that of hundreds of Hiroshima-size bombs. Having honored the first man to split the atom, join the race to see who will be the last. And remain oblivious to this--that the U.S. and only the U.S. can lead the world back from the nuclear brink. Life is so risky anyway assign the biggest risk of all, the nuclear risk, to our children and theirs.

Let safety depend upon faith, hope, and charity--faith that technology will succeed where miracles fail, hope that few will suffer if kilowatts supersede greater public needs, and charity toward the overextended atomic-industrial complex, which, not satisfied with the lion's share of new capital, wants three times as much.

All this, mind you, comes from a man who used to be a staunch advocate of nuclear power.

The one great advantage of the policy I have just described, which amounts to what our present national energy policy is, is this: We are applying so much of ourselves to energy generation that we shall be unable to continue our present rate of attack on other resources. And we will not have to continue to waste money on education, public health, housing, transportation, or the new industries that would be the potential customers of all this new energy. We will have topped King Midas. Everything we touch will become kilowatts, and everything we leave behind will be radioactive.

I think there are alternate courses to follow, and I will try to hit upon them briefly. They will occur when more of us take politics seriously--politics being the engineering of public decisions. None of the alternate courses will work if the U.S. does not first, as only it can, lead the world back from the nuclear brink--and soon. Otherwise, our other desultory activities on this planet will have to be likened to minding the deck chairs on the Titanic.

Since people always somehow seem to be able to do what they have to, you're free to join me in my optimism: we will somehow make it, but sometimes I wish it wasn't going to be such a damnable photo finish.

Our chances will be better sooner if we can persuade mankind to sign up for a short course in humility. (Womankind, for the most part, doesn't need it.)

Now in essence, a little humility can put humanity in fair perspective. You can grasp the perspective easily if you squeeze the earth's age down to the six days of creation, so that suddenly, at Sunday midnight, from somewhere, earth began. Tuesday noon, life came aboard. Until then it was a construction job, getting toxic metals and radiation out of the way, and building a crust on the earth that life could float on. Life multiplied all through the week, building a beautiful, stable diversity. By Saturday morning at six, earth opened a savings account for fossil fuels. Saturday afternoon at 4:00 the great reptiles came on stage and at 9:00 p.m. were finished. At 10:00 p.m. the great whales went back to sea. Whalers weren't known yet. Ten minutes to midnight Neanderthal Man appeared and politics began. (Neanderthal man, according to Robert Allen, of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources in Morges, Switzerland, got by on a 25-hour work week.)

One and a half seconds before midnight we began to simplify life's diversity with agriculture so we could work longer hours. A quarter of a second before midnight, on the last day, Christianity joined the world's religions. At a 40th of a second, the industrial revolution superseded religion. We found a new God, Progress, annointed ourselves with oil, and have just about used it up. One five-hundredth of a second before midnight we suddenly found that life was impossible without exponential growth of Gross National Product, the grosser the better. Russia started the GNP race, we entered too, and Japan won it.

With this perspective, we have good reason to worry--about chemicals in the working place and everywhere else, and more than anything, about radiation, the most important environmental hazard of all. I share the view of an Australian woman who asked recently in San Francisco, "Why do we spend millions of dollars fighting cancer and billions of dollars creating it?" Have you seen Dr. Sam Epstein's work recently? His testimony before the Environmental Study Conference? You'd find out that one out of four people in this country is going to get cancer, and one out of five is now dying from it. Cancer deaths in 1975 were equal to the deaths from the wars in Vietnam, Korea, and World War II. A lot of those deaths are initiated in the working place, with chemicals that working people are being used as guinea pigs for.

Not too many years ago the Stanford Research Institute announced that it was going to study the environmental effects of 2,000,000 chemicals. That sounded good. But think about the numbers involved. If it's 2 million chemicals, then it's 2 million times 2 million synergistic effects of chemicals working in combination with each other, on two million different kinds of species. That's about how many there are, all chemically different, not to mention the chemical differences in allergies. Two million times two million times two million is a great big number. Eight quintillion is so big a number that if the Stanford Research Institute had started its experiments at the time life began on the planet, three billion years ago, and it completed ten experiments a second ever since, they would not yet be through the beetles. We are now inventing chemicals far faster than we can possibly test their effects adequately. If we ignore the backlog of man-made chemicals nature must learn to cope with, and consider only the 500 new chemicals invented per year currently, then testing their synergistic effects on species of living things would require completing 15 thousand experiments per second. Bear in mind, as we are experimented on with these chemicals, that we shall not know the effects of some of them until we house them for fifteen or thirty years.

That is one of the problems with radiation, too. It worries me, as you can see; but since worrying is my business, I don't mind. I am getting hardened to it. But you shouldn't be, nor should you believe those who fail to recognize the limits of technology.

I would also like to say that there are alternative courses to follow. For example, if Vice President Rockefeller, through the influence of his brother, David, wants to persuade President Ford to spend 100 billion on a utility and nuclear industry bail-out, there is an alternative way to spend that kind of money. It should be dealt out to the various cities where we can rework existing resources. Take the good bones of old buildings, restore them, or retrofit them. We have the ability to do that; we certainly have the human resources to do that. We do not have the natural resources to take the other crazy courses some leaders are trying to coax us on in their addiction to exponential growth. Growth is being eulogized by Mobil and other big corporations in their periodic ads. Exponential growth sounds good. What it is, as presently practiced, is a sophisticated device for stealing from our children. We discount them as worth practically nothing so that we can grow to our heart's content and get our goodies now.

It won't work. Certain kinds of growth will work. They are the kinds we see outdoors. Nature's pattern works or it wouldn't have lasted. We had better work with it or we won't last. You see everywhere what happens in natural growth patterns. Spring comes and growth begins all over. There's an explosion of it in summer. In autumn, there's a reappraisal. In winter there's a weeding out. One of the things we have to learn, if we want to stay on this planet very long, is to weed out the things that are obsolete. To get into doing the things that the earth will be better for, and we will be better for, if we spend our effort on them. That is the way growth can go. It can go if we won't be so frightened by big government that we give it no chance to do what big government alone can do in such things as the Hawkins-Humphrey Act or the Ford-Mondale Act.

We can straighten things out, and make sure that we make the transition from the kind of world we are in now, headed toward the nuclear brink, to an alternative course which is the same one.

I have some figures here from Amory Lovins, who works for us in various parts of the world, primarily with Friends of the Earth, Ltd., in England. He has just been advising the Canadian government. They are, I hope, about to embark upon a course that could be a model for us too. He has looked hard at energy, the principal tool we have, either to work with the environment or against it. He shows that most of the energy--almost 75 percent of the energy Canada is using--is coming from fossil fuels. Seventy-five percent of that is either wasted or used for low-quality energy purposes. Only about 5 to 7 percent of our energy need be electric. Used otherwise, electricity can be one of the most expensive, inefficient ways there is to deliver energy. The sun is the resource to look to. With a few presently feasible technical fixes, and settling for the standard of energy use we lived nicely with in 1960 (almost everybody can do that), we can get by with no nuclear at all and phase out our use of fossil fuels by the year 2525. We can do it if we want to. The technology exists. All we have to do is decide to make the transition to a way of life that we and our children can live with. The specific numbers are too detailed to go into now. I can supply them later if you ask. They are pretty exciting numbers that show how we can live on solar energy, on wind, and what Amory and Canadians call "liqwood" (the alcohols).

To wind it all up: One of the best quotes I have is from a Welshman, Alwyn Rees, who said, "When you reach the edge of an abyss, the only progressive move you can make is to step backward." That bothers the people who don't ever want to step backward. So let's reword it--When you have reached the edge of an abyss, the only progressive move that you can make is to turn around and step forward. I hope you will.

TOM DONAHUE, Executive Assistant to the President, AFL-CIO (Labor)

BARBARA NEWMAN, Investigative Reporter, National Public Radio (Moderator)

Let me just make one or two comments before I introduce Tom Donahue of the AFL-CIO, which I wish you would think about, David. When you say we can do without nuclear, what do we do about the states where nuclear power is already providing about 50% or more of the energy used. Number 2: When you talk about returning to a lifestyle of the 60's, what does that do to the Gross National Product and employment. When you say we are pushing a nuclear brink, we are already off on a nuclear brink. If we are not going to sell reactors to other countries, what about West Germany, what about France, what about Canada. It was a Canadian research reactor that Indira Gandhi used to produce a bomb. It was not ours. We do not sell reprocessing technology. West Germany and France do. What good would it do if we had unilateral moratorium except the fact that our companies would not get the dough out of it.

Alright, lets talk to Tom Donahue of the AFL-CIO. Mr. Donahue, I think in this talk on occupational health and safety the bottom line question is: society has not really determined the cost-effectiveness of human life vs. what it would cost in terms of an additional increase in prices of consumer goods to really have a very safe environment. I think that's the bottom line issue and I wish in the course of your remarks you might address yourself to that too.

TOM DONAHUE, Executive Assistant to the President, AFL-CIO (Labor)

Thank you very much Barbara. I am the representative of Big Labor. I submit we probably also could belong to David's organization in England--Friends of the Earth Limited. I am delighted to be here and delighted to be in this setting. I share some of Gale Cincotta's feelings that the next conference ought to be held in downtown Newark where the environmental problem is getting rid of the rats and that might provide some balance against the magnificent settings we have here that turns us all into 100% environmentalists.

I am pleased to participate for the AFL-CIO in this conference to bring to the conference and all of you the good wishes of President Meany.

While President Meany is an unabashed polluter and probably a walking violation of the Clean Air Act--with that ever-present cigar--he is on the other hand an expert on conservation--insofar as that term means the preservation of a national natural resource over long, long years.

We're pleased to participate because the idea of this conference is sound--stressing, as it does, our common interests and seeking ways in which we can work together. And we can--because we are <u>all</u> environmentalists; we are <u>all</u> social thinkers; we are <u>all</u> persons concerned with the <u>other</u> persons in our society.

The mandate for my participation here is contained in a policy statement of the trade union movement noting that conservation of the nation's natural resources is "a subject of the most vital importance to our people. Avariciousness on the one hand and an almost criminal carelessness on the other already has laid waste a large part of these resources. The Executive Council is instructed to assist in any legitimate movement which has for its objective this protection."

A similar convention resolution called upon the government "to provide adequate machinery and more liberal funds for the restoration and protection of our natural resources, the cleaning up of our rivers and streams and the extension of opportunity for outdoor recreation".....

The first of those statements was adopted by the American Federation of Labor at its convention in 1908 nearly three-quarters of a century ago commenting on the report of President Theodore Roosevelt's Inland Waterway Commission which had called attention to the destructive results of an expanding nation's ruthless and uncontrolled squandering of the nation's resource heritage.

The second statement is dated 1929, nearly a half century ago. In the late 1940's, both the old AFL and the CIO helped to enact the first federal water pollution control legislation.

Since the merger of the AFL and the CIO, there have been a succession of updated Executive Council and Convention policy resolutions on the natural and human environment--but even more importantly, there have been

active efforts to support legislation, policies and programs to clean up this country's dirty air and water and to deal with its vast out pouring of solid wastes.

By the recitation of that history, I don't mean to pretend that the environment and its protection and enhancement has always been the prime concern of the AFL-CIO, but only to say that our concern about these matters is not new.

Let me take a minute to remind all of you of what the AFL-CIO is and what it is not.

1. It's 14.2 million people--organized in over 50,000 local unions--in 115 national unions functioning through 50 state federations and over 700 central bodies--holding over 450,000 general membership meetings a year and electing democratically over 100,000 officers every year.

Add to that the three plus million people represented by the UAW and IBT and their local structures and you begin to have a sense of what an amazingly complex and diverse institution American labor really is.

2. A second aspect of the labor movement to keep in mind is that it has at least two different levels of existence and functions.

There is first the level of job unionism or shop unionism--the level of basic membership participation and the level at which the expression of our unionism is largely concentrated on the job and on protection of the workers' job-related interests.

That is the primary function of American trade unionism. It's why workers join and it's the strength of American labor that its primary efforts <u>are</u> expended at that level.

People don't join American unions because they express a particular social attitude or political attitude. They join primarily because they want to express their human dignity on the job and have it recognized on the job. We are first self-interest organizations.

The second function of the American trade unions is their social unionism. It can be expressed and carried out only so long as the primary function is fulfilled. That social unionism, in the long run or in the broad sense, may be far more important or have far greater impact on the lives of the workers represented--but it can only be carried out so long as the primary function is fulfilled.

That is an essential distinction between U.S. trade union movement and most of the rest of the national trade union movements of the world and it is essential that we all understand it if we are to understand what to expect and not expect of social unionism.

The other essential to understand, in terms of the AFL-CIO, itself, is that it is a federation of autonomous affiliates and moves with the agreement and consensus of those affiliates and not independently of them or their job-related interests.

Finally, I'd note that the strongest and, I think, purest expression of that social unionism has been in the Federation's continuing espousal of the cause of the poor, the unorganized, the near non-participants in our society. In my view the labor movement has been the single loudest voice in America on behalf of the poor and the underprivileged.

Against that background, let me set out the cardinal principles of the AFL-CIO policy statement on the environment adopted by our 1975 Convention and then explore their origins and results a bit. That statement said:

1. "The AFL-CIO remains firmly committed to protecting, restoring and improving the nation's environment. At the same time, we stand firm in our conviction that environmental policies and programs can and must be reconciled with the employment and energy requirements that are necessary to economic progress.

2. "We firmly oppose any policies or programs which would move this nation in a disastrous no-growth posture."

I believe that some of the misunderstanding which arises between ourselves and some environmentalist organizations stems from the fact that the trade union movement looks at the problem as one which involved its members most intensely in the day to day problems of the human environment.

We find ourselves, more often than other groups, caught in the middle of the debate over the effect of the nation's commitment to clean up air and water and properly dispose of solid wastes. Environmental organizations push for policies and programs geared toward achieving ultimate goals of environmental cleanliness, often with inadequate consideration of the social and economic consequences of their proposals. Management warns us that further efforts toward cleaning up the environment would restrict economic expansion, threaten future job creation, threaten existing employment, and needlessly divert capital resources from productive purposes.

The job argument is particularly worrisome to us in the midst of high unemployment, inflation which strikes us all, and a serious long-range problem of obtaining future energy supplies.

Our own concept of the scope of environmental problems faced by Americans begins with the worker both on the job and where he lives.

Sixty million workers spend 25 percent of their active years in establishments where they may be--or are--exposed to deadly safety and health hazards--most of which are only beginning to be dealt with under the Occupational Safety and Health Law. That is our first environmental concern.

We also look at the environment and our use of it in terms of how it affects the poor who know only unemployment, bad housing and penniless old age. Let me offer the comments of two social activists on aspects of the environmental movement.

A few years ago, a young doctor working with the rural poor in the Mississippi Delta had this to say about the two views of pollution--of the poor and of the affluent--when he testified before a Congressional committee.

"For many people in poverty, particularly rural poverty, the recent national focus on the environment must seem a bitter irony. For us, the issue is not pollution, but survival--and it always has been. The rural poor have been drinking dirty water, fighting the elements, living amid society's garbage long before the nation became concerned about the smog on Park Avenue, industrial pollution in Lake Erie or the exhaust fumes from automobiles on the Los Angeles freeways. I am not, of course, opposing that national concern. I am asking you to look at some of the environmental pictures of poverty and consider whether we are entitled to cynicism if you neglect the human environmental needs of the poor--literally--in favor of a focus on environmental quality for the affluent."

In a splendid piece in yesterday's New York Times magazine section, Bayard Rustin, President of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and National Chairman of Social Democrats, USA, develops the arguments against the advocates on No-Growth. He says, and we in the trade union movement believe not that "less is more" but that "less is less" for more people and less may be nothing for those who already have very little.

Rustin credits the environmental movement for its significant contribution to the struggle for more humane social order by forcing society to take a new look at many previously accepted patterns of economic and cultural behavior, but notes that some in the vanguard of the environmental movement have often sought policies that are detrimental and in some cases--the growth controversy being the most significant example--destructive of the needs of those less well off".

Growth provides our ability to reduce poverty. It is a precondition for the success of manpower programs directed to the needs of the poor. It provides the resources to build the housing, supply the medical services and upgrade the schools in the inner cities. Without it, we will never mobilize domestic political support for domestic social programs, let alone for policies that offer new hope to the emerging nations.

Rustin quotes Anthony Grosland, the social democratic theorist and current Foreign Secretary in the British Labor Government: "My working class constituents have their own version of the environment, which is equally valid (to that of the no-growth advocates) and which calls for economic growth.

"They want lower housing densities and better schools and hospitals. They want washing machines and refrigerators to relieve domestic drudgery. They want cars and the freedom they give on weekends and holidays. And they want package tours to Majorca, even if this means more noise on night flights and eating fish and chips on previously secluded beaches. Why should they, too, not enjoy the sun?

"And they want these things not because their minds have been brainwashed and their tastes contrived by advertising--but because these things are desirable in themselves."

So we trade unionists look at the environment as I've said, first as it affects the worker on the job and in the community and secondly as it affects the poor and their aspirations.

Finally, we know that the labor movement, from its leaders to the man or woman in the plant, must in fairness adjust its own view of the environment to consider that we all, as Franklin Roosevelt once said, are inextricable threads of the seamless web of life. The myriad of living creatures, including the soil, vegetation, waters, and the entire life support system of this planet, its cycles and seasons, are all intricately interrelated and the disturbance of one part affects the working of the whole. The major disturbances by modern technology of this delicate balance has proceeded uncontrolled to where it is a matter of national and global concern. Every worker must share this concern because pollution casts its dark shadow over his life, his family's and those of succeeding generations. But he can only be asked to interest himself in the big picture, if everyone else is willing to interest themselves in his narrow, highly personal, job problem.

Happily, the fact is that a broader view of the scope of problems that can be truly termed environmental has been rapidly evolving among the leading environmental organizations. There have been in recent years many instances where we have worked closely together on legislation and implementation of federal programs:

1. We have received vital support in our efforts to include in all federal environmental laws a provision to deal with the problem of environmental blackmail by business management.

2. A group of distinguished ecologists joined the AFL-CIO in support of a strong Occupational Safety and Health Act in 1970.

3. The Urban Environmental Congress has provided strong assistance in calling for tougher enforcement of the OSHA Act and adequate funds to implement it.

4. Unions and environmentalists worked closely together in the enactment of the Safe Drinking Water Act of 1975.

5. The same informal coalition has been the major force in achieving a strong Toxic Substances bill passed by the Senate, and hopefully an effective measure this year by the House of Representatives.

In short, I am indicating that there is more to unite than to divide us, although you must recognize that the AFL-CIO is an organization of federated unions linked by structure and policy, but with sometimes divergent problems. We lack the delightful simplicity of a single purpose organization espousing just one goal. We have to face the constant necessity of reconciling divergent views among our constituent unions. We do not see eye to eye with you on the issue of returnable vs. non-returnable beverage containers, but we share a common belief that national land-use legislation is a crucial necessity.

Let me say a few words about the economic arguments regarding pollution control. These are of critical importance to our 14.5 million members. It is where we receive the most pressure from management--along the lines that the goals of pollution abatement and of economic growth are irreconcilable.

Abatement of pollution is costly. It is also beneficial. If this program is to have the wholehearted support of not only labor leaders but workers in the plant, it is first necessary to assess the costs, what the effects are on jobs, and relate these costs, not merely in dollars but in what happens to the lives and welfare of people, to the beneficial achievements of cleaning up the environment.

We all know that to modify or redesign industrial processes which have been geared only to maximum unit production with only slight consideration for the safety and health of employees, or for the effect of such operations on the quality of the environment, is an expensive process. Somebody has to pay the bill. Mostly you and I pay for it, either in the form of higher taxes to fund abatement control programs, or as consumers in the higher costs of goods and services that we purchase.

... now we're told by management that we will be victimized if we take action to control such pollutants. Already faced by threats of our health, we are now threatened with economic injury.

As applied to the work place environment, President Meany has expressed labor's reaction to arguments that to

clean up environmental hazards is costly to jobs: "No worker should pay for a job with his life or his health."

I. W. Abel was quoted in yesterday's New York Times in a piece analyzing the heavy union involvement in the fight to force a proper noise standard, as saying the fundamental issue is whether workers should have to risk "loss of one of their God-given senses as the price they must pay for the job they hold."

Last November, the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress held hearings to assess the full range and magnitude of these various economic impacts. According to a staff summary of those proceedings, it was found that pollution abatement expenditures, amounting to $195 billion over the next ten years, and not having and will not have a significant impact upon the rate of inflation. Actually the annual abatement costs, which in 1973 were just less than .5 percent of the Gross National Product, will average over the ten-year period about one percent of the total GNP and contribute only 3/10 percent to increased Consumer Price Index. Hardly an over-commitment of the nation's wealth. In a survey conducted by the Department of Commerce, only 2 percent of firms interviewed announced that the expected abatement costs would reduce their investments in new plants and facilities.

A Department of Labor study estimated the cost of achieving a 90 decibel noise level limit by 19 major industries would cost 13.4 billion dollars. And an 85 decibel noise level limit would cost $31 billion. (EPA estimates the 85 decibel cost at $12 billion over ten years.)

Whatever the cost, the 85 decibel level would mean that workers with long exposure to that level would suffer hearing impairment at a frequency rate slightly less than twice that of those not so exposed. At the 90 decibel level that rate is nearly doubled.

United Rubber Workers President Bommarito sums up worker attitudes on this point with his comment that "the notion that deafness is a fair exchange for a job is no longer acceptable by the vast majority of workers".

Obviously, worker interest in and acceptance of the fight for improvement of the work environment is going to be greater than in the fight to improve the general community environment--particularly if he is made to feel he alone will pay the price for improving community environment--but even in the first case the environmental blackmail threat of the loss can take its toll.

We're told, "You can't eat clean air" or we're told, "It's an either/or proposition--jobs or a healthy environment.

Well, that's an unacceptable choice. We can have both and we must and we're going to put an end to that kind of environmental blackmail.

There is now pending in Congress a bill which, if enacted, will give workers and their unions the right to request a public hearing under the auspices of EPA when there is an allegation or threat that jobs will be lost as the result of an EPA action or regulation. Furthermore, EPA will have the power to subpoena company records in order to evaluate the legitimacy of the company's arguments.

It is hoped that the mere fact that workers can exercise this right will forestall the unwarranted threats which companies make against pollution clean up.

This provision has already been enacted to cover the regulatory actions under the Water Pollution Control Act and we are making every effort to obtain its passage to cover situations under the Clean Air Act and ask your support.

In conclusion, I emphasize these points:

1. The national goals of clean environment have been stated in laws enacted and implemented by the U.S. They are a permanent commitment of the American people through their elected representatives.

2. The employment Act of 1946, even though it has been ineffective, did set the economic goal of this nation as being that of maximum and stable employment. The passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act will put substance into that commitment.

3. Both of these goals must be achieved. In order to do so, organized labor's concerns about widespread technological side effects from the impact of pollution control programs and environmental improvement programs--both job and community related--must be recognized and dealt with.

4. To move toward a clean environment and full employment, there will inevitably be some trade-offs. If the labor movement and the environmental community are to travel the road together, this must be recognized. Extremism by either element is only self-defeating.

5. There must be mutual recognition that the environment is also people and the circumstances under which they live and work. Equally vital is the recognition that this magnificent but fragile planet must from now on be treated with increasing respect and care.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Question. BARBARA NEWMAN, Investigative Reporter, National Public Radio (Moderator)

I'd like to have some participation from the people here, but if you do so, would you please use the microphones so everybody can hear you. Now let me raise some questions. In these beautifully delivered and written speeches you all talked about working together, but if someone asked to report on areas where you're going to work together in the future and form a coalition, I really couldn't tell you that I heard any. The AFL-CIO is for nuclear power, Friends of the Earth thinks that's the greatest threat in the world. You have David Brower quoting Thoreau saying what's the use of a job if you have a dead planet, and the AFL-CIO thinks just the opposite, that a job is pre-eminent. Name me one, two, three areas that you think are very important. Give me an agenda where you're going to work, together, these three groups, that's the focus of this conference. How are you going to do it?

Answer.* TOM DONAHUE, Executive Assistant to the President, AFL-CIO (Labor)

I don't think we're going to, at least not in the next twenty-five minutes, reconcile our differences on nuclear power, Barbara. I don't think that we accept the question as David Brower poses it: What's the use of a job on a dead planet? That's a better dead than red argument. We'll take the job, we'll have a little problem with the planet. It might not be as beautiful as we'd like it to be, but we're going to have the job. In terms of where we're going to work together--we're working together, I say to, currently on the Clean Air Act where unions almost uniformly and, I think, currently without exception, in a fairly fragile coalition, but currently without exception, are supporting the Clean Air Act and are opposing the Moss Amendment which would substantially gut the Act. I think we'll continue to do that. We'll continue to work at the national level on legislation in broad support of one another. We're going to be able to work at local level only if there is a better understanding between each of us of the other's problems. I think we probably have less trouble with Gale although she may have troubles with employment opportunities for community peoples in terms of some of the employment or unemployment problems we have, but if we're going to work together at the community level with environmental organizations there's going to have to be a much greater acceptance of our positions by the environmental organizations and vice versa.

Question: BARBARA NEWMAN, Investigative Reporter, National Public Radio (Moderator)

Where are you going to do it?

Answer.* TOM DONAHUE, Executive Assistant to the President, AFL-CIO (Labor)

Well, we're going to do it on a specific issue. If I understand your question, we're going to do it only when we're both confronted with a particular issue, where a plant is closing because of its ambiant or community standard injury. We're going to do it only if those who press hardest for the closing of that particular plant are going to be somehow understanding of the needs of the people who work there. Maybe to phase it out, maybe to have more time, maybe to have continuing extensions of the deadlines which we now confront. There is a delicate balance that's going to have to be worked out to do that sort of thing. So, I wish I knew the specifics of how we're going to put it together. We're only going to put it together if we appreciate one another's problems, I suspect.

Question. BARBARA NEWMAN, Investigative Reporter, National Public Radio (Moderator)

When do you think you're going to appreciate one another's problems?

Answer.* TOM DONAHUE, Executive Assistant to the President, AFL-CIO (Labor)

I think it's easiest for us to appreciate one another's problems when we're not talking about the specific job interest. On the higher level, it's easier for us to agree that it's going to be where we're talking about disposing of a worker's job.

Question. BARBARA NEWMAN, Investigative Reporter, National Public Radio (Moderator)

But that's the pre-emptive issue isn't it?

Answer.* TOM DONAHUE, Executive Assistant to the President, AFL-CIO (Labor)

No, I don't think so. I think that's not true. We've been cooperating in a number of areas already. The impact,

the figures on impact of job loss by EPA at least are very low. They don't develop figures on the prospective job loss, but I think it's possible for us to work together.

Question. FROM AUDIENCE

On your job position, that they're inviolate. You move into the position of the re-bottling or re-cycling, it means a loss of jobs. Could you change your position if you had federal money so that these people in the jobs that are displaced could be put into another industry? Or, is it because of your organization, which is so structured you cannot even think of it, because you'd lose a bottling union?

Answer.* TOM DONAHUE, Executive Assistant to the President, AFL-CIO (Labor)

I don't think I said our job interests are inviolate. They are our prime interest. We're going to have to protect them because our function at the local union level is to protect that man's self-interest and his interest is in his job. In the bottle and can, in the deliverable verses non-deliverable, I think the environmentalists started from the wrong position. Everybody started worrying about litter, and the way to solve litter was to keep the children from throwing away cans. Well, I think that was a wrong premise to begin with. When litter wasn't a sufficiently effective argument, the environmentalist moved from litter to saving our precious resources of aluminum and steel. The fact is that the bottle and can people have reduced the use of aluminum very, very, substantially in their production. Most recently, at least during 1975, the continuing argument was: we have to go to a returnable system because it will save energy. Well, nobody ever thought of that before, but it was a new argument, so suddenly we had to combat that argument. I just think that particular piece of business starts from the wrong premise. In terms of, would we accept some mechanisms, I think that's what I'm talking about, but again I don't know that I could be as specific as you'd like. Our problem with imports goes somewhat along that line. In the import system the federal government says to us, "Too bad you're hurt by imports, we'll give you adjustment assistance." Well, adjustment assistance isn't a job, its unemployment insurance for a guy who's now thrown out of work by the effect of that import. If that's the solution that is going to be proposed to us, that we're going to lose our jobs, but we'll get adjustment assistance, no we won't accept that and our unions won't accept that. If you can, and we must, find the polluting plant, recognize the very real job needs of the individuals in that plant, find the rational way in which you can transfer their job opportunities to another plant that doesn't pollute, to another industry without up-rooting a family, without tearing them apart, without putting them on a dole, sure we're interested in doing that.

Comment. BARBARA NEWMAN, Investigative Reporter, National Public Radio (Moderator)

We're going to give David Brower equal time.

Answer. DAVID BROWER, President, Friends of the Earth (Environment)

We ask equal time for the environment. One of the things we try to do in the environmental movement is to read as well as we can the unwritten ecological laws and somehow to interpret these that are recorded. We don't write them. We didn't write the laws of Nature. Nature did. Man, in his brilliance, whether he's in science, in humanities, in labor, or in the environmental movement, is not perceiving very many, but has perceived a few. I think that Mr. Donahue gave a very narrow view of what the environmental concern was--a few people worried about littering. This keeps us from getting to the real subject.

The real subject is this: What are we doing to the earth?

We, in the environmental movement, didn't write the Second Law of Thermodynamics. It is absent from any economics text that is backing the unending growth concept. You can't grow unendingly because the resources, including energy, simply don't exist to permit it. Simply borrowing more and more heavily from our children's resources doesn't help anybody on this planet except a few selfish people who want to take care of themselves now, and damn the expense to the children.

We aren't asking anybody to starve or to go without work, but we don't want the kinds of things that have been happening on that excuse. I mentioned the Mondale-Ford Act. This is essentially an Act against environmental blackmail. It requires things of corporations that have not been required of corporations in this country. It's been required for a long time in Italy. I think the epitome of our concern is what happened in the National Environmental Policy Act, which is being eroded by many industries day after day. We do not want to see it gutted because it is one of the finest things that ever came from this country. It is one of our best exports. It requires this: that when you want to go into some big project, you look not just at the environmental consequences, but also at the social consequences of the proposal, and of various alternatives to that proposal. It shouldn't be just a kiss-off job saying, "We'll think of a couple of alternatives we don't like and forget to discuss them."

There is a lot of timidity in enforcing the National Environmental Policy Act. We'll all gain if it is enforced. There is no substitute for this earth. There is no place else to go. It's a very small one. If you look at what's happened to resources lately, you'll find out that we've been doing things that cannot be kept up.

I picked 1960 a few minutes ago because that happens to be a year that almost everybody can remember. Anybody here who can remember 1960 will not remember the standard of living as being lower then. That was a time when you could probably walk at night in any city in this country. You can't do that now. What's happening now is not what I'd call an increase in the standard of living. I like what Les Pengelly says about that. He says, "The hell with the standard of living. I want a better life." That's what we're looking for. We're going to try to find this by budgeting our resources with respect to energy.

I'll end up with nuclear energy because I think that's the most important thing. We can budget our resources, our energy resources, in such a way that we live on the energy income that comes to this planet every day. In 2 to 3 weeks the sun puts as much energy on this earth as you can get from all the recoverable fossil fuels. It puts more energy on the exclusion area of a thousand megawatt reactor than that reactor will generate. Now, all we need to do is get labor and science, industry, and technology to get busy and do something about what you can achieve with the sun. That is the one non-polluting source. We've been living with it for a long time, and we can live with it better. The sun and its derivative, the wind, which will be running that windmill outside this building shortly, are all we need. Denmark right now, which is totally dependent almost on imported fossil fuel, has found out by careful studies that it can live almost totally on the energy from wind.

These are exciting prospects. One is the prospect of taking advantage of waste organic material--the by-product of photosynthesis. This is what makes life on earth possible, and we've only half looked at it. We get so absorbed in the hard, sophisticated technology of nuclear games that we forget to look at the sun. And the nuclear experiment is soaking up the capital that can make the sound alternatives possible. A Bechtel Corporation study says that the energy industry now uses 25 percent of newly formed capital and wants 75 percent. What does that mean to everything else that's important, health, transportation, housing, and the jobs incident to them. There won't be money for them. They will have a lot of capital to spend on the most expensive generating equipment, but this puts fewer people to work for each $100,000 invested than almost anything else you can name.

A new emphasis is needed on the health of the work place. The main emphasis of Friends of the Earth will have to be on the health of the earth, and on the budgeting of natural resource use. But we can't concentrate on the big picture, forgetting the vital details, and win.

Comment. JOHN ELEEN, Ontario Federation of Labor

I think we are asking for too much if we want to find concensus in all these issues that we are talking about, or find issues that we agree on. I believe we will accomplish quite a bit if the professional environmentalists start recognizing the need of jobs when they try to solve their issues. You don't close the mine because it pollutes. You try to clean it up because the other consideration is that there are jobs to be saved. If the labor people start working harder on the question of environment, whether its on safety on the job or the outside environment, I think we can get quite far. I think that sign, the artist made a mistake on that sign originally out in front and probably it reflects some of the thinking in our society. He said economical justice and jobs and then they had to rub off the "al". I think that's something to think about. We cannot have perfect justice because somebody's going to get hurt in the process. It's very easy for a middle class person to talk about on their $30,000 job about workers giving up their jobs or finding alternate jobs for them when they close that plant down. In Canada there's about 7% unemployment and its very hard for these workers to accept that argument, that society will find them other jobs but that plant should be closed down. I think that professional environmentalists have to consider that very seriously.

Question. JOAN SCHMIDT, Safe Energy Coalition of New York State

I'm a professional environmentalist. I'm also unemployed. I may look middle class but believe me I'm as broke as anybody here. I would be very happy to have a job. I come from an area where there is 13% unemployment. What I would like to ask Mr. Donahue is, I saw the feeling last night that we are all going to agree, and it's really the big corporations that are the rip off. All the rest of us will get together and they will be the enemy. Today I see that we are going to get into a little in-fighting, but we might as well get it out on the table and see where the areas of disagreement are.

From my point of view, nuclear power, civilian nuclear power generation, is a very serious threat. I don't see it that way from any special interest because I don't really give a damn how power is generated. It makes no economic difference to me one way or the other. I have studied a lot about it, I know a lot about it, and I'm ex-

tremely concerned about it. I would like to see an energy producing industry that also produces jobs because I want a job, but where is the difference with organized labor in this? Why do you feel the way you do about nuclear power? Is it the sense that there will be a tremendous loss of jobs in the construction industry if we do not build the projected nuclear reactors? What basically is your area of disagreement where we can sit down and talk about it on hopefully reasonable terms?

Answer. TOM DONAHUE, Executive Assistant to the President, AFL-CIO (Labor)

On the jobs question, I suspect that the construction trades jobs are there no matter what kind of energy-producing plants you choose to build, whether we build conventional plants or nuclear, the building trades jobs are there and they're the same. I really think the question of nuclear vs. non-nuclear, and I just don't know enough about solar energy, but I suspect maybe that's a mirror of the national problem, to really comment on part of David Brower's remarks. It maybe that solar is the solution to all of our problems. But it seems to me from a practical and pragmatic sense that it is so far distant now that I'm unable to project how we might get where I think the society has to go using solar power. Where I think the society has to go is back to full employment, more jobs, and growth. To get growth we need electric power. Whether we get it by the nuclear route or whether we get it by conventional power is probably not a major item with the trade union movement as such. The fact is that we're going the nuclear way. That's the way we're told and the nation is told that's the economic way of going. I don't know, I don't know the answer to that. That's a decision really that the trade union movement's not making. Okay? You asked me about the jobs. I think the jobs are there no matter how you build that energy capacity, but I think essentially it's a question between growth or no-growth.

Comment. MURRAY LEWIS, Santa Barbara Coalition Against Oil Pollution

I guess our paths illustrate the necessity of all of us working together. When we went to hearings, we found the labor unions lined up with big companies, the oil companies. The rest of the year they fight the oil companies. Comes to contract time, they fight the oil companies. Came to hearings, they fought us. Now I am a retired trade unionist. I am now an active environmentalist. So we scratched our heads: how do we enact both? So what I am about to say is in answer I hope, in part to your question, Barbara. We felt we had to show the union's that we are interested in jobs. There's no use in talking about dead planets, if you are dead long before because of unemployment.

My father was unemployed, and I know how my family suffered. So we had to think: how can we create jobs that will help the environment? We came up with a successful conference--a labor and environment conference, well attended with seven unions represented, as well as the standard national and local environmental groups, some Chicano groups, a student group, civic groups like the League of Women Voters, and some other groups. We had four workshops aimed at creating jobs. We talked and studied and initiated action locally. One workshop was creating jobs through building good housing for low income people, not condominiums and not second homes, but low income people housing. The second was creating jobs through mass rapid transit. UAW's interested in that, and we had the support of the UAW. The third was creating jobs through solar energy applications. There, for example, we got the support of the AFL union which is interested in that. The fourth workshop dealt with the environment, environmental safety, occupational safety and health, which I think is a very rich source of cooperation between environmentalists and labor. We're concerned about oil in our area; oil fumes, sulphur dioxide, hydrogen sulphide. These things are a problem in our community.

We also did something rather unusual, but we enjoyed it. We went to the City Council hearings on the building codes and we supported the building unions when they asked for changes in the building codes; that there be no plastic sheathes, but rather metal conduits for wiring in private homes because the plastic sheathes are dangerous. We also supported them when they asked that there be no aluminum wiring in private homes for the same reason, danger of fire. These were novel experiences, but well worthwhile. Possibly those are avenues other environmentalists can follow in their efforts to find common ground with the labor movement.

I would like to say one word about litter, if I may. It has been pointed out that there are losses of jobs when cans are outlawed and bottles are made returnable, there are also gains in jobs. The losses, fortunately, are by Steelworkers and Aluminum workers, all in the Steelworkers union. But can't we unite in creating jobs for them in other ways? For example, to say that a company must dismiss workers or U.S. Steel must dismiss workers because fewer aluminum cans are made, is to accept the argument of the company. Can't we say there are technological advances we should all share, reduce the hours of labor, so we can save jobs, instead of working eight hours, work seven or six? That's the position of the UAW. Can't we have 30 and out, which means in UAW terms 30 years work and then out on a decent pension? That creates jobs for the young workers who are coming in and they have the highest percentage of unemployment in the country, with minority youth the highest among them. Well, can't we say, as the UAW does, create jobs by having more paid vacations? There are things where we can all get together and save jobs.

Question. BILL WARD, Great Plains Windustries, Lawrence, Kansas

I came to this conference because in the Great Plains we have a resource that didn't use to be valued and that's the wind. Now with higher energy prices, it does have a value. I have always thought that there is a unique match between the skills and productive capabilities in say the automobile and aerospace industries, making windmills.

I would like to get a commitment on the part of labor maybe to inquire into whether or not there is such a match, because to the extent there is, it's a freebee. You don't have people leaving their jobs, you don't have people having to change skills, you don't have to have federal programs for retraining. You are talking about gears and generators, and structural steel, and aluminum and that kind of thing.

Question. BARBARA NEWMAN, Investigative Reporter, National Public Radio (Moderator)

You want Mr. Donahue to answer that or give commitments, which? Mr. Donahue, do you want to tilt at windmills?

Answer. * TOM DONAHUE, Executive Assistant to the President, AFL-CIO (Labor)

I neither tilt at windmills nor give commitments. Maybe somebody else can give you a commitment. We would be interested in the applications of wind as a power source.

Question. BILL WARD, Great Plains Windustries, Lawrence, Kansas

National Science Foundation says that wind energy alone, one of the six types of solar energy that there is, can supply 23% of our nation's electrical needs for the year 2000. Twenty-three percent of the entire country's needs from wind energy. A lot of that's in the Great Plains. Now are you going to build some windmills for us? That's my question.

Answer. * TOM DONAHUE, Executive Assistant to the President, AFL-CIO (Labor)

No, we are not in the business of building windmills. As we all talk here, maybe part of the answer to how we work together is, God love us, that we each do our own thing. If your business is pressing the validity of wind as a source of energy, go to it. My business is protecting the work environment primarily. We are going to do our thing there. Most heavily, we are going to worry about clean air, clean water, the effect on community, but our primary emphasis is going to be on work place. The emphasis of the Friends of the Earth is going to be on the larger questions of our natural resource use. I think maybe the cooperation comes in each of us doing our own thing effectively.

Question. BILL WARD, Great Plains Windustries, Lawrence, Kansas

But we need some help. We're a small organization. Can't you look down the road?

Comment.

You are pressing nuclear.

Answer. * TOM DONAHUE, Executive Assistant to the President, AFL-CIO (Labor)

We aren't pressing nuclear. We are pressing energy.

Answer. DAVID BROWER, President, Friends of the Earth (Environment)

Friends of the Earth in France have numbers showing that the auto industry in France could switch to making solar panels and heat pumps, and all keep busy, and make a profit. They could make more profit, and keep more people busy, by adding windmills to their list. This is one of the alternatives that cannot be attained by the environmental movement itself, or by the labor movement itself. It is one of the reasons why we cannot, at this time, entertain the luxury of trying to close down big government. Big government is what can help make the transition. The transition from peace into World War II took a major shift. It took a big government to accomplish the shift. Then we had to make another shift back to peace. These are major shifts. We succeeded because we felt it was in the national need to do so.

I hope that in the course of this campaign we get somebody to talk about that--how we are going to make the im-

portant shifts to something that the planet can stand and keep people busy, instead of continuing on with the things we are doing now that the planet cannot endure. If it gives up, there will be jobs for no one, not even do gooders.

Comment. TOM McELROY, Florida Audubon Society

If my core group would forgive me for just a little bit of repetition, I would like to point out one facet of this labor and industrialized movement that we are talking about that perhaps we are overlooking. In fact, labor and all the jobs involved are putting Florida out of business and let me tell you why. The Associated Press just released through our tourist bureau the fact that during the Bicentennial Year of 1976, seventy odd million people will visit the State of Florida. That means one out of every four people in the United States will be in Florida before the year is out. It means that four thousand of them every week are going to stay there. It means that in Florida the construction industry is booming, it is providing jobs, it is usurping our water supply so fast that every few years Miami has to move its deep wells farther into the Everglades. On the other side of the state, it means that the city of Naples is moving theirs farther and farther into the Everglades. We are coming to the point one day where we are going to cross. The problem is: this is being done by getting rid of an equalizing pressure of salt water vs. fresh water. Unless labor, environmentalists, unless we all find a solution to this, we face the possibility in sourthern Florida, of having the only desert in the world with 60 inches of rainfall every year. Now, I mention this as being peculiar to Florida. I think it is not. I think we are just the forerunners, and I think on different scales this is happening throughout the United States. Thank you.

Closing. BARBARA NEWMAN, Investigative Reporter, National Public Radio (Moderator)

I have unfortunately received a note saying that I have to close this out because, this well planned conference, you are all scheduled to do other things. So I'm supposed to give a summary, I think maybe of one line, I think maybe the song "You go Your Way, I'll Go Mine" and that's how we are going to cooperate at least according to the AFL-CIO.

These remarks were not proofed by the speaker.

BARRY COMMONER

Director, Center for the Biology of Natural Systems, Washington University and Chairman, Board of Directors, Scientists Institute for Public Information, New York

TISH DAVIS, Coordinator, Urban Environment Conference, Washington, D. C.

This morning we heard from representatives of labor, environmental, and community groups. We learned of their differences and points of conflict. We have with us now someone who will hopefully point out areas of commonality and show us the possibilities of working together. I'd like to present Barry Commoner who is Director of the Center for the Biology of Natural Systems at Washington University in St. Louis and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Scientists Institute for Public Information in New York. Barry Commoner.

BARRY COMMONER, Director of the Center for the Biology of Natural Systems at Washington University in St. Louis and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Scientists Institute for Public Information in New York.

This conference has taken on the vital task of getting at the truth about the apparent conflict between decent jobs and a decent environment. Such conflicts paralyze policy: If you suggest doing something about the environment someone else may say that it will waste energy. If you suggest a way to save energy someone else may say that it will cost jobs.

To understand these apparent conflicts, and learn what can be done about them, we need to understand the connection between employment, energy, and the environment. Why are these issues so closely connected? We need to answer this question if we are to learn how to bring our separate interests--in jobs, in energy conservation and in environmental quality--into harmony.

In analyzing such problems it is helpful to visualize the connection between three great systems: the ecosystem, the production system, and the economic system. This is shown in Figure 1.

Let's start with the ecosystem. The ecosystem is what conservationists like to talk about. It is the thin skin of the planet, the air, rivers, lakes and oceans, and the soil, and all the living things that inhabit the earth's surface. It is important to remember that the ecosystem is the place where people--not only whooping cranes --live. I am biased on that point; I happen to think that people are more important than whooping cranes. But the whooping crane, and the other animals and plants that conservationists worry about, are important because they remind us that the entire system which supports all living things is inter-connected; that when one living thing dies it is a sign that something is wrong that will affect other parts of the system as well. But the relationship ought to work both ways: the environmental effects on people should warn us that the rest of the living world is also endangered. Yet it is a sad fact that it was only when PCB's (polychlorinated biphenyls) were found in fish and eagles that this environmental hazard was given any attention--although 30 years earlier PCB's were making chemical workers very sick.

The ecosystem supports us as living things. We breathe the oxygen that is produced by green plants, and the plants use the carbon dioxide that we exhale; both people and green plants are parts of the same ecological cycle. But the ecosystem is something more; it is also the source of all the raw material that we use to produce the goods and services that we want. All of the planet's resources are in the ecosystem or lie just below it, and much of the material underneath, such as coal, natural gas, and oil, was produced by ancient, fossil plants. We can think of the ecosystem as the source of all the raw materials and resources that go into the next system--the production system.

The production system makes up everything that we do: farms, factories, transportation, communications. As Figure 1 shows, the production system has three main inputs: natural resources, such as fuels, needed to produce goods; capital, which provides the machines to maintain or expand the production system; and the labor that runs the machines. The goods and services which we use are the output of the production system.

Figure 1 also shows the economic system. The economic system is different from the production system. The production system produces real goods--cars, cans of food, clothing. The economic system produces nothing but bits of paper, and nowadays not even that, but only data in a computer. The economic system takes the output of the production system--the real wealth which it produces--and converts it into wages, profit, capital, credit, taxes, and so forth.

Figure 2 shows some of the main ways in which the economic system divides the wealth represented by the output of the production system. Part of the output is consumed, most of it as food, clothing, housing, recreation, schooling, and all the things that support us (summed up in Figure 2 as "social welfare"). This is the support that sustains the work force, labor. And so one of the arrows in Figure 2 shows the labor input into the production system as originating from that part of consumption that contributes to social welfare. But some of what is consumed also goes to support the military. Some of the output is not consumed, but accumulated, either as the worker's savings (if any), or industry's profit. This accumulated wealth can become capital, and can then be used to provide the machines that sustain the production system.

Now notice, from the relationships shown in Figure 1, that the economic system depends on the output of the production system, which in turn depends on the resources provided by the ecosystem. So, logically, the design of the production system should be compatible with the ecosystem. And in the same way, logically, the economic system should be governed by the requirements of the production system. That would be a rational relationship among the three systems. But in fact things are the other way around: It is the economic system that determines how the production system operates, and the production system is so designed as to influence the ecosystem, rather than the reverse. So, for example, Detroit builds big cars with high-compression engines, which run so hot that they produce nitrogen oxides from the nitrogen and oxygen in the cylinder air. Nitrogen oxides, emitted in the exhaust, triggers the smog reaction--and degrades the environment. Pollution is a sign that the production system influences the ecosystem. And when we ask why such ecologically unsound cars were built, we discover that it is the economic system which governs the production system. Big cars were built because, to quote Henry Ford, "mini-cars make mini-profits."

Every decision that controls the design of the production system, that determines what kind of factory is built, what kind of crop is grown, is made on the basis of what business calls the bottom line--profit.

Energy is a kind of red thread that can guide us through the complex relationships among the three systems and help us understand them. First, all the energy that is used to drive the production system is derived from the ecosystem--and except for nuclear power, ultimately from the sun. And, especially right now, the economic system is strongly affected by the price of energy, which has become the driving force in inflation. There was a very sharp rise in the price of energy after 1973, and it has driven up the price of all the goods dependent on it--which is everything.

Let us now look at the problem of energy sources, of which the most important is oil. Are we running out of oil, and if so, why? This question has become a very serious political problem; it has dominated a good deal of the Administration's political thinking. Remember, for example, that during the oil embargo of 1973 it was suggested by unnamed Administration sources that we might have to drop paratroops on the Arab oil fields in order to get hold of the oil that we needed.

How did we get into the situation of depending on Arab oil for our essential supply of energy? Oil and natural gas supply about 75 percent of the national energy budget, and about 40 percent of the oil is now imported. As a result, our entire production system, the whole economy, is very vulnerable to an oil embargo.

How did this happen? To answer that question we need to go in hot pursuit of the truth--to follow every answer with a new question. To begin with, we need to ask why there is a gap between the amount of oil that we produce in the U.S. and the amount that we use. Oil is a fossil fuel produced once, a long time ago in the Earth's history, and never again. So, it is a non-renewable resource; there is only a certain amount under the ground, and every time it is used there is less left.

According to some estimates we will run out of domestic oil in the next 10 or 15 years or so. These estimates are largely based on the fact that since 1957 the rate of finding new oil in the U.S. has declined sharply--by about 60 percent. Since we are continuing to use more and more oil, we are using up the "reserves" of oil.

Now, in order to find oil, you must first look for it. To find oil, geophysical crews have to be sent out into the field, and after they have located a promising area, exploratory wells have to be drilled to see if the oil is really there. The oil industry publishes records of the annual amount of exploration, as well as the annual amounts of oil found. So we have a record of both the effort to find oil, and the results of that effort. Figure 3 compares these rates of looking and finding. It is pretty clear that, like the rate of finding oil, the rate of looking for it has also decreased since 1957. This means that the reason why less oil has been found since then is that the oil companies have been looking less for oil.

But this answer only forces us to ask another question: Why should the U.S. oil companies, which are, after all, supposed to be producing domestic oil, be less interested in finding it than they used to? Once more the answer is available in the oil companies' own reports. In 1966 H. W. Blauvelt, then Vice-President, and now

Chairman of the Continental Oil Company, presented a paper before a meeting of oil geologists in Texas. His paper had the fascinating title "How to Become a Foreign Oil Company." It makes very interesting reading. Until 1950 the Continental Oil Company only produced oil domestically in the U.S. Then the company decided to go abroad, and Mr. Blauvelt's paper explains why. Here is how he explained it:

> "(A)...consideration important in our decision was the apparent profitability of foreign oil operations. As overseas crude output rose, profits also grew rapidly, and the rates of return earned by U.S. companies from their international operations proved considerably higher than the returns from their U.S. operations alone."

And in the paper there is a graph which proves the point. This is shown in Figure 4, which is a graph, taken from Mr. Blauvelt's paper, of the rate of profit earned by U.S. oil companies from 1947 to 1964 from domestic oil production and from foreign oil production. Between 1952 and 1956, when most of the U.S. oil companies were deciding to go abroad, there was roughly 28 percent return on foreign operations and about a 14 percent return on domestic operations. Given a choice between a 14 percent and a 28 percent profit, Continental Oil, along with many other U.S. oil companies, decided to go for the 28 percent profit. So they began to shift their operations abroad. During the oil embargo newspapers published reports on the profits of U.S. oil companies which showed that nearly all of their high profits came from their foreign operations and not from their domestic ones. Mr. Blauvelt's expectation was right--foreign operations <u>were</u> more profitable than domestic ones.

One can argue about whether or not it is a good idea for the U.S. to produce all the oil that it needs from domestic sources. But the <u>reason</u> for the oil gap is, I think, clear. The reason for the neglect of the full development of the oil resources in the United States is that what governs the search for oil and its production in the U.S. is a single economic factor--maximization of profit. This is, of course, quite in keeping with a basic principle of private enterprise: If you own capital you may do anything you want with it that is legal in order to get the highest possible rate of profit. If you don't want to produce oil in the U.S., you have every right to go abroad, if you think that will improve profits. And if you think you can make more money by <u>not</u> producing oil at all, you don't have to produce oil. This is made quite clear by another oil executive, John J. Dorgan, Senior Vice-President of the Occidental Oil Company, who said:

> "It doesn't mean a thing to say to a private company that there is a great need for oil. You have to have incentive. If it turns out that phosphate rock is more profitable, we'll put our money there."

This principle explains why Mobil Oil Company put most of the huge profits that it made as a result of the price rise that followed the oil embargo into buying the holding company (Marcor) which owns Montgomery Ward Company and the Continental Can Company--neither of which produce oil. What these companies do produce is what Mobil Oil wants--profits.

When I pointed in a series of articles in <u>The New Yorker</u> magazine and again in my book, <u>The Poverty of Power</u>, that profit-ability strongly affects the oil companies' interest in looking for oil, there were objections from some oil geologists and from the Chief of the Office of Energy Resources of the U.S. Geological Survey. They claimed that I was wrong in asserting that we could find more oil in the U.S. if oil exploration and production were not so closely controlled by the oil companies' approach to oil economics--which is not to maximize the production of oil, but the production of profit. Now, I had claimed that if we wished, as a matter of public policy, to meet the costs of producing it, there were still some 350 billion barrels of oil available in the U.S. I pointed out that this would be enough to take care of our needs for some 50-60 years, giving us time to straighten out the energy mess by shifting to a renewable source, and to efficient ways of using energy. The USGS report that was sent to me as a refutation of my position asserted, on its second page, that there were only 112 to 189 billion barrels of oil available, so that we were, indeed, "running out of oil," as the oil companies like to claim. But if you read further in this same report you get a very different story. According to the report the 112 to 189 billion barrel estimate was based on the assumption that "Resources will be found in the future under conditions represented by a continuation of price-cost relationships and technological trends generally prevailing in recent years prior to 1974." Then the report goes on to estimate how much oil would be available under "subeconomic conditions"--that is if the oil companies were willing to produce the oil without being given the "incentive" of an acceptable profit. Under these "subeconomic conditions," according to the USGS report, 164 to 251 billion barrels of additional oil could be produced. And adding the "economic" and "subeconomic" amounts together, we get 275 to 440 billion barrels of oil, which is about the same amount as my own estimate. All this is shown in Figure 5.

This shows how important it is to consider the complex connections between the ecosystem, the production system, and the economic system. Otherwise, what you get is the kind of confusion that is produced by the

USGS report. After all, it should be the geologist's responsibility to tell us how much oil is under the ground and--with help from economists--how much it will cost us to produce it. Instead we are given a figure on how much oil is available that is based on a barely hidden assumption that the only way to produce oil "economically" is to do it according to economic rules laid down by the oil companies.

Because the amount of oil is limited in amount, as more of it is taken out of the ground it becomes more and more expensive to produce. In order to get that "subeconomic" oil there is no doubt that the price of oil would need to go up. More and more capital would need to be spent in order to produce the same amount of oil. This is shown in Figure 6, which reports on the capital productivity of energy production, which we can define as the amount of energy obtained per dollar of capital invested. Expressed in terms of barrels of oil instead of BTU's, in 1974 about three barrels of oil were produced for every dollar of capital invested in domestic oil production, and a total of 3.8 billion barrels were produced. It is estimated that in order to double this rate of production the extra investment needed would reduce capital productivity to about 8/10 of a barrel of oil per dollar of capital invested.

Because oil is a non-renewable resource, the law of diminishing returns is at work; every time you take out a barrel of oil, the next one becomes more expensive. As a result, production of oil will swallow up more and more capital. More of the wealth produced by the production system will need to be diverted into the production of oil and other non-renewable forms of energy. There would then be less wealth for us to use for other purposes.

Because the efficiency with which invested capital is converted into energy is falling, the oil industry claims--and I think they're right--that unless their rate of profit, which (except for the last few years of windfall profits) has averaged about 12 percent (on equity) rises to 15-20 percent, they will not have enough capital to continue to produce oil.

The capital problem also figures largely in the solution to the oil problem that is being pushed by the Administration--to make synthetic oil out of coal, or to produce oil from shale. One reason why oil is so important is that it gives us liquid fuels which are necessary for motor vehicles, and synthetic oil can do the same. But, as Figure 6 shows, the capital productivity for synthetic oil and shale oil is very low. There are also serious ecological and health problems associated with the production of these new kinds of fuel. Shale oil contains cancer-producing chemicals and synthetic oil is likely to as well; both processes use a great deal of water and cause large-scale disruptions of the land. Apart from these difficulties these synthetic fuels suffer from the same economic fault as ordinary oil--they will use up large amounts of capital.

A brief look at the problem of nuclear power shows that here too there is a capital problem. The hazards of nuclear power have been discussed a great deal at this conference, and I will skip over them, without minimizing their importance. Rather, I'd like to emphasize the economic aspects of nuclear power. Figure 7 compares the capital costs required to produce several different kinds of energy plants as these costs have changed since 1970. The capital cost of nuclear power plants is going up much faster than the capital costs of coal-fired power plants or refineries. Why should this be true? Figure 8 helps answer that question. It shows the recent changes in the contribution of capital costs and fuel costs to the cost of producing nuclear power. The capital costs of plant construction accounted for about half of the cost of nuclear electricity in 1966; now it accounts for more than three-fourths of the cost of electricity produced by nuclear plants.

What is there about nuclear power plants that make them so demanding of capital, compared to other ways of generating electricity? We can get the answer to this question from a fascinating study by a Harvard/MIT group headed by Dr. Irvin Bupp. They studied the recent rise in the capital costs of various nuclear power plants and looked for statistical correlations with factors that might account for the increase. They discovered that the best correlation was between the rise in capital costs and the duration of the licensing period (the time during which hearings are held on the plant's safety and environmental effects). A utility executive would respond that this is just what would be expected--plant costs go up because such unnecessary environmental delays allow inflation to increase prices. But Bupp's group also measured the correlation between rise in capital cost and the duration of the <u>construction</u> period, and this correlation was poor. So, it is not just the delay that makes the cost go up; something else is at work. Bupp suggests that the first correlation (that is, with the duration of the hearings) is what statisticians call a proxy variable, which means that its importance comes from the influence of some other factor with which it is connected. He points out that during a long hearing, environmentalists may come in with various objections to the design of a plant: for example, that it is hazardous to the workers or to the environment. In many cases these objections have been agreed to by the AEC, and the utility is then required to make the necessary changes in the plant design. And when you begin to <u>re</u>-design a plant the capital cost goes up very fast. It is not very efficient to design a technical plant in a public hearing, but that is exactly what has been happening with nuclear power plants.

There are many examples of environmental objections that have forced changes in the design of nuclear power plants. Several years ago the AEC was about to approve a nuclear power plant that was to be built exactly on top of the San Andreas Fault--a very active earthquake fault. When environmentalists pointed this out to the AEC, the project was dropped--but only after considerable expense. Since then nuclear plant designs have been required to be earthquake-proof. Other examples of costly changes that have been forced on the utilities by environmental concerns are the emergency cooling system and more stringent radiation standards. All this raises the capital cost of nuclear power.

Again, a question arises: Why should nuclear power plants be so much more susceptible to such problems than other ways of producing energy? To answer this question we need to consider, very briefly, the fundamental science of energy--thermodynamics.

To begin with, there are only two basic laws of thermodynamics that you need to know; they are very cleverly called the First and the Second Laws. The First Law says that energy cannot be destroyed or created. The amount of energy in the universe is constant. If that is so, then why bother to conserve it? Obviously something is wrong with this approach, by itself. That is where the Second Law comes in. The Second Law reminds us that energy is itself useless. The only value in energy is that it can be used--to do work. There is a scientific definition of work: force exerted over a distance. But there is also a more everyday, quite satisfactory definition of work: Work is anything you do. Work makes something that would not otherwise happen, happen. For example, here is my watch resting on the table. If I don't do anything it will stay right here. But if I want it to rise, I have to make it happen--by doing work, exerting a force through a distance. Energy can be defined as that which can accomplish work, and what is valuable to us in energy is this ability to do work.

The Second Law describes how work can be gotten out of energy; it sets forth the rules that govern how much work can be done by using energy in different circumstances. One of these rules is that in order to get work out of an energy source efficiently, the characteristics of the source should be well matched to the requirements of the work-requiring task.

Now let's see what the two laws of thermodynamics can tell us about a common energy-requiring task--keeping a room at, say, 70 degrees when it is 32 degrees outside. Let's say there is an oil burner that produces the heat that goes into the room in order to keep it warm although it is cold outside. How should we measure the oil burner's efficiency in accomplishing this task? One method is based on the First Law of Thermodynamics, which, you will remember, tells nothing about work, but only that energy can be neither created or destroyed. We can then ask: How much of the heat energy produced in the furnace gets to the room (where we want it) and how much goes elsewhere, for example up the smokestack. The First Law tells us that the amount in the room and the amount that goes up the stack, added together, should equal the total amount of heat produced by the furnace. The efficiency is the fraction of the total that gets to the room. For most oil burners the efficiency computed this way, according to the First Law, is about 60-65 percent. When efficiency is computed this way it appears that not much could be done to improve the oil burner's efficiency; for example, there is no way to double it.

But the Second Law tells us that this is the wrong approach, because what we are interested in is not energy but the work that it can do. Therefore, we have to ask a different question. How much work does it take to keep the room at 70 degrees when it is 32 degrees outside, and how does that compare with the amount of work that is available from the oil that is burned in order to accomplish that task? The ratio of the amount of work needed to accomplish the task to the amount of work available from the energy used for that purpose is the "Second Law Efficiency." When that is computed for an oil burner it turns out to be not 60-65 percent, but about 8 percent. This leaves lots of room for improvement.

The overall Second Law efficiency for the use of energy in the United States is probably no more than about 10-15 percent. We are wasting most of the work that is available from the energy that we use. The main way that we waste energy is by not having a good match between the task and the energy source. For example, the trouble with an oil burner is that it operates at 350 or 400 degrees when all you want is heat at 70 degrees. This is not a good thermodynamic match, and the result is a great deal of waste.

Now let's look at a nuclear power plant, thermodynamically. What is its task? Strangely enough, a nuclear power plant's thermodynamic task is boiling water to make steam. As you well know, it doesn't take nuclear energy to boil water. All it takes to get very efficient steam production from boiling water is an energy source at about 1000 degrees. But the equivalent temperature of a nuclear reaction is somewhere between one and ten million degrees. This is not a good thermodynamic match; it is more like thermodynamic over-kill. Here is a useful analogy. If I have the task of killing a fly on the wall, a good thermodynamic match to this task would be to use the energy delivered by a fly swatter. But--after all--I could also kill the fly with a cannon ball. That would be a very bad match between the task and the energy used to accomplish it. The fly would be

killed alright, but there would be a lot of damage. That is very much like the situation in a nuclear power plant. The nuclear reaction boils the water, but it also threatens to do a lot of damage. Most of the increased capital cost of nuclear power plants is a result of trying to limit this damage.

At the present time most of the U.S. energy requirements are met by petroleum and natural gas, and because the law of diminishing returns is at work, production of these fuels takes increasing amounts of capital. Efforts are being made to introduce synthetic oil and shale oil, which again means an inefficient use of capital. Finally, if we turn increasingly to nuclear power we will further reduce the productivity of capital used for energy production. This helps explain why, as can be seen from Figure 9, the overall productivity of capital used by the U.S. energy industries--that is, the amount of energy produced per dollar of capital invested--has been falling in recent years. It has become a major factor in the rising rate of inflation in the U.S.

The only answer, I believe--and again I shall not talk about it here because it is being taken up elsewhere in the conference--is solar energy. Solar energy is renewable and not subject to the law of diminishing returns. Most important (see The Poverty of Power for details) is does not stimulate inflation, but can control it.

Let me quickly turn, now to the uses of energy. Energy is, of course, used to operate the production system. Figure 10 shows the energy productivities (along with other important productivities) of various modes of transportation. Such information tells us that by far the most efficient form of land transportation is an electrified trolley or railroad. But we have no trolleys to speak of in the U.S., and even fewer electrified railroads. Why?

The answer is given in Bradford Snell's report, prepared a few years ago for a Senate committee. General Motors, Firestone, and Standard Oil of California formed a corporation that bought up trolley systems, destroyed them, and put in buses instead. This has all been confirmed in court, as a result of which the Vice-President of the company, who participated in the breakup of the huge Los Angeles trolley system, was fined one dollar. It is clear that this company was not interested in providing transportation, because they sold the bus companies as soon as they could and went to the next town to buy up another trolley company. What they were interested in was selling buses, tires, and gasoline--for profit. Once again, it is the blind search for profit that has gotten us into trouble.

Now let's look at how energy is used in farming. Figure 11 reports on the energy used for various purposes in growing corn in Illinois. Notice that only 18 percent is used to run the farm machinery. Most of the energy is represented by nitrogen fertilizer (which is made from natural gas and therefore involves a considerable expenditure of energy) and propane, which is used to dry the grain after harvesting. After the oil embargo the price of oil and other forms of energy began to rise sharply. As a result the price of ammonia and propane doubled and tripled in a matter of a few years. The petrochemical industry produces ammonia and propane, and itself uses about half of the output to manufacture various synthetic chemicals. As a result, the farmer is in competition with the huge petrochemical industry, which can much better meet higher costs--particularly since the ammonia or propane producers are often its own subsidiaries, so that a price rise is only a bookkeeping transaction.

To use all these chemicals, and to buy the farm machinery that is driven by energy, the farmer has needed increasing amounts of capital--and less labor. Figure 12 shows the changes, over the years, in the amount of capital invested in agriculture, per farm workers. It now takes six times as much capital per worker in order to keep the farm going than it did 25 years ago. Capital, machines, and industrial products such as fertilizer have been substituted for labor.

And Figure 13 shows the net result: Total gross income of U.S. agriculture has been increasing--but so have the production costs. The difference--net income--has remained unchanged, and in uninflated dollars it has even fallen--from $18 billion in 1950 to $13 billion in 1971. In other words, the farms use more and more costly inputs but the farmers make about the same amount of money as before. In effect, industry has colonized the farm to no great benefit to the farmer--and food becomes more costly to produce and higher in price.

The next figure (14) shows a typical change in the production system that has worsened both the energy and environmental picture--the displacement of soap by detergents, which have now taken over about 80 percent of the market. In the same way, since 1945 cotton and wool have been displaced by synthetic fibers; leather and wood have been displaced by plastics. As a result, the petrochemical industry, which produces these synthetic substitutes for natural materials, together with the petroleum industry on which it depends and the transportation industry that uses so much petroleum, have become the dominant sector of industry in the United States. The sales of this industrial complex represent 18 percent of the GNP, but it only employs about 2.7 percent of the labor force.

These changes have sharply altered the efficiency with which industry uses energy, capital and labor. We can measure the performance of the production system with respect to these three inputs by computing the amount of output that is produced per unit input. This measure is called productivity. (Whenever you see the word productivity look for the adjective, because productivity always refers to a particular input, such as labor, energy, or capital.) Figure 15 compares what has happened to these productivities as the leather industry has been displaced by plastics, produced by the chemical industry. In this figure output is measured in terms of value added, which is the sale value of the product less the cost of the raw materials and energy used in producing it. The picture is quite clear: Leather production is much more efficient in its use of both energy and capital than the chemical industry, which produces the competing plastics. Yet, as we know, leather goods have been extensively displaced by plastics.

How can the production of plastics be so successful if it uses energy and capital so inefficiently? The answer is in the first item shown in Figure 15--the productivity of labor. Here the chemical industry really shines: While in the leather industry only $6 of value added is produced per man-hour, in the chemical industry nearly $28 of value added is produced per man-hour. In other words, the chemical industry uses labor very efficiently, but capital and energy very inefficiently. The explanation is fairly simple: The industry uses huge, expensive equipment, which it runs with lots of energy but with few workers. Machines, bought with capital and run on energy, are usually introduced into industry to displace labor so that the inefficient use of capital and energy go hand in hand--together with the efficient use of labor.

This kind of shift is characteristic of all of U.S. industry. This is shown in Figure 16, which reports the rates of growth of different industries. The fastest growing industries are plastics, manmade fibers, aircraft (largely because of the war in Vietnam) and chemicals generally. The slowest-growing industries are leather, cotton, wool, and lumber. There has been a general displacement of those industries which efficiently use capital and energy and have inefficiently used labor by industries that do the reverse. And within most industries "labor-saving" machines--and energy--have been introduced as well. As a result, overall labor productivity in U.S. manufacturing has about doubled since 1950.

Now what does such an improvement in labor productivity mean? To the employer it means more output, more profit, per man-hour. But to the worker it often means unemployment, that there are less and less job opportunities per unit output than before. In other words, we are operating an economic system which, especially since World War II, has become wasteful in its use of energy, wasteful in its use of capital, and wasteful of job opportunities. As a result we are moving toward a shortage of energy, of capital, and of jobs. The business community is particularly worried about one of these shortages, calling urgent attention--for example in reports of the New York Stock Exchange and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce--to a very serious shortage of capital.

Is there any way to overcome the serious effect of such industrial displacement on unemployment? From Figure 17, which shows the unemployment rate in the U.S. in the last 25 years, it certainly looks as though the problem has not been solved. Unemployment has never fallen below about 3.0 percent in that time, and in recent years has increased alarmingly; it is now at 7.5 percent.

Generally the answer that is given to the unemployment problem is to increase production. An economist, Arthur Okun, has pointed out that unless the output of the production system--the GNP--increases by 4 percent a year, unemployment will increase. The idea is that since each year it takes less and less labor for a unit of production, then the only way to produce enough jobs to take care of the people who are thrown out of work is to expand the production system. The production system has to grow if it is to overcome unemployment.

But there is a problem here: Production is increased by investing more capital in more machines--that displace labor. The supposed cure for unemployment is actually the cause of unemployment.

The same thing is true of the capital problem. In order to compensate for the capital shortage, production must increase so that there will be more capital to invest. But the capital is then invested in machines that are increasingly inefficient in converting capital to output. Again, the attempted cure is the cause of the disease. The outcome of this situation is that the rate of profit of the U.S. manufacturing industry has been falling. Profit is the return obtained per dollar of capital invested. Since more and more capital is needed to produce the same output, the denominator in the profit ratio swells, and the ratio itself becomes smaller. Figure 18 shows how the rate of return on capital invested in manufacturing industry has fallen, declining to about half its value since 1948.

As you can see, the economic system is not working very well, because of the same transformation of the production system that has polluted the environment with detergents, with smog, and with toxic chemicals. This transformation of the production system has been driven by a single aim--to maximize profit. The new indus-

tries that have displaced natural raw materials are the more profitable ones. They are more profitable because they depend less on labor. The electrons that they use are cheaper than labor--and they do not go on strike. In its drive to maximize profit, U.S. industry has drastically changed the means of production in such a way as to make unemployment, the waste of energy and capital, and environmental pollution inevitable. There is something seriously wrong with the economic system. And that fault lies behind all the problems that we are wrestling with at this conference: jobs, the conservation of resources, and degradation of the environment.

There are signs that the business community is itself beginning to understand that there is something basically wrong. A few weeks ago Vice-President Rockefeller came before the Senate Banking Committee to defend a piece of legislation that must seem quite strange, given its origin with Mr. Rockefeller and the Ford Administration. The proposed bill would use public funds to provide capital for those energy industries that are unable to raise enough capital on their own: nuclear power, synthetic crude oil, shale oil. This would reward, with public money, exactly those energy industries that are least efficient in using capital to produce energy--and therefore can't get enough of it. This, I think, is evidence that private enterprise is indeed running out of capital. When the oil companies want "incentives," they are telling us that the rate of profit is not high enough. Of course, it is not high enough; it has fallen primarily because of the basic faults in the economic system that we have been discussing.

It has been my purpose in these remarks to analyze the relation between the environment, energy, and jobs. I have tried to diagnose the problem rather than prescribe a solution. The problem derives from a fault that is absolutely basic to the operation of the U.S. private enterprise system--that decisions about what to produce and how to produce it are made in order to maximize private profit. Such a fault can only be corrected by the outcome of a great national debate which re-examines our long-held assumption that the private enterprise system is the best way to govern the use of our resources and the distribution of the resultant wealth.

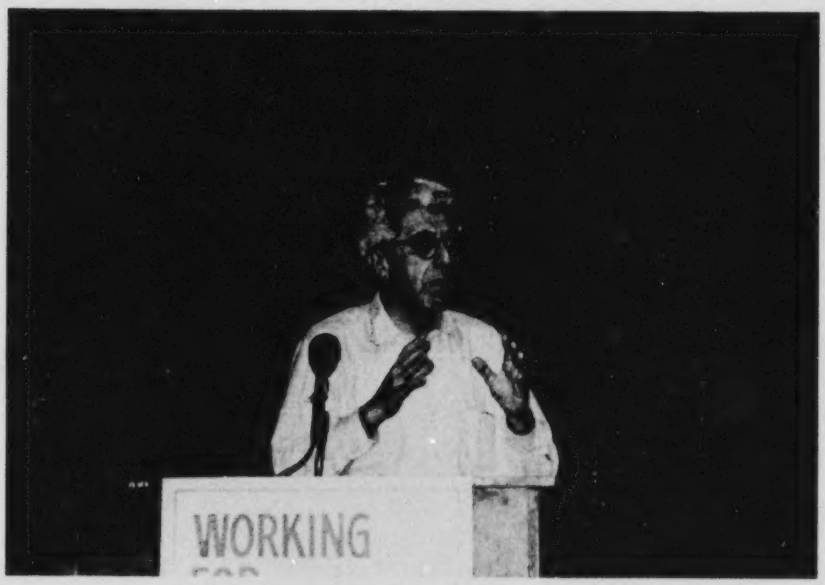
Meanwhile, however, the business community does have its own answer to that part of the problem which seems most important to it--the capital shortage. Their basic proposal is that more of the output of the production system should be devoted to the formation of capital--which means that less of it can go to consumption. Here, for example, is the way Gaylord Freeman, Chairman of the Board, The First National Bank of Chicago, has put it:

> Perhaps the most significant aspect of our three decades of post-war life was our dedication to a consumer society.... (Now) we lack the conviction that it is sufficiently important to forgo some of our precious consumer goods.... We have to face the fact that excessive emphasis on consumer spending is as harmful to our society as is excessive use of alcohol or tobacco.

Now, "reducing consumption" means that less wealth can be used to support people's need for food, clothing, housing, education and health. Plainly speaking, it means a reduction in the standard of living. And what is even worse, the attempts to shift from consumption to capital would have their biggest effect on the poor. This, too, is made quite clear by the proponents of the approach. Here, for example, is a report of what two of them had to say at a meeting on the effect of the capital shortage on the energy industries.

> Problems with capital formation are tied to social goals. More precisely, "we have been living dangerously for many years by diverting investment funds to meet the operating costs of social objectives," according to Joe Greif, Vice-President of Finance for Exxon Nuclear. Less and less of the national output is devoted to increasing the productive base, more and more devoted to what Greif calls "social engineering and social enrichment." The result? An economic and social climate "in which the accumulation of savings and therefore the formation of investment capital is discouraged," says Greif.... Put simply, things have come to the point where somebody must lose. "It's a trade-off between more attempts to redistribute income or accelerate savings. You can't do both," said Arnold Pearlman, a young economist with Chase Manhattan Bank. Income redistribution, he said, is consumption-oriented; it takes from those who save (and invest) and gives to those who only spend. "The only thing that can be done is to increase personal savings, reform the tax laws, 'give a break' to high savers--to corporations and other income groups.... A choice," he said, "between the advantages of income redistribution versus having a larger pool of investment capital."... But how, politically, to reverse the trend toward social enrichment?

Here, then, is direct proof of the point that Leonard Woodcock made in his presentation to this conference--that those who are the enemies of conservation of resources, enemies of the environment, are also the enemies of social progress and of jobs. As we begin to understand this fact we must face an even more sobering one: that the private enterprise system is no longer able to make good its boast that it can produce good profits for management and a higher standard of living for the worker. It raises the profound issue--which must become the basis of a great national debate--of deciding how we can best devote the nation's resources to the common good rather than to private profit. Thank you.



QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Question. Tim Sampson, Citizens Action League, California

I was going to ask if you think that Jerry Brown, in telling us to lower our expectations, is trying to get us to raise our savings, but instead I just want to ask: Where can we get the ideas that you've talked about? Have you written them down, and can they be gotten?

Answer.

Thank you for that question. Everything I said is in this book, which will be out officially next week. It's called The Poverty of Power. Most importantly, in the back are the references that produced the slides that I showed you.

Concerning Illich, Gerry Brown, my friend Schumacher, and so on: It is obviously a good idea not to waste things. But following this line of reasoning, we can all readily fall into a trap unless we look at the whole economic picture. I think that's the trouble with Small is Beautiful. Small is sometimes beautiful, but you won't be free to make the choice if big business is in charge.

Question. Gene Perrin, East Michigan Environmental Action Council and Detroit Sierra Club, Michigan

I doubt very much that to change much of what you said is feasible under the current system. I wonder if it isn't again time to organize a labor coalition party because the other two political parties are obviously intolerable.

Answer.

Well, that certainly is one of the issues that has to be looked at. I really needed an hour and a half to finish what I was going to say, but let me just carry the political point a couple of steps further. What I was saying is that if you look at the problems that have been troubling all of us in this room--the conflict between resources, environment, jobs, and so on--and can trace back and find the reasons, you find that they are built into the operation of the capitalist system. I say that as a scientific assertion. Incidentally, I was a little worried about my barging into economics until the other day when I gave a talk and a Nobel laureate economist was sitting right behind me on the platform. After a while I turned around and asked him how I was doing. He said, "A-plus". So I guess at least one economist agrees. But I think it's clear that there is a deep inherent fault in the operation of the capitalist system. The things that we're worried about in this room emanate from that fault. Now the next question is: What do you do about it? I think there is no way to reform it that hasn't already been tried, and didn't just make some other aspect of the situation worse. OSHA (The Occupational Safety and Health Act), for example, certainly helps protect the worker against exposure to the faults in the means of production. But OSHA reduces the productivity of capital--there are no two ways about it. When you put a protective device in a factory and all it does is save the worker from injury or death without producing output, it reduces the productivity of the capital, and often enough, of labor. In a similar way, the current attempts to solve the energy crisis-through nuclear breeder reactors, coal gasification and the manufacture of other synthetic fuels--also require more and more capital to produce the same amount of energy. Such attempts to reform a part of the system just doesn't seem to work. I think what's needed in the United States (and at the end of my book I say this) is an open public debate on the relative merits of capitalism and a socialist economic system. When I use the term "socialist economic system" I have in mind a specific definition. It's a system in which the design and functioning of the production system are under public control; the wages, what's produced, how it's distributed, and so on. The question of how you do that politically is wide open. I don't think there's a good example available. The Soviet Union is socialist and so is China, and look how different they are. And you realize that the two biggest western Communist parties have just given up the principal of the dictatorship of the proletariat. I think that there's no point in saying, "Oh well, we know exactly how to do it". Anybody who says that doesn't know what he's talking about. We would need to invent new political forms that combine the economic democracy of socialism with the political freedom that is such an important part of the American heritage. I have no suggestions to make about how to accomplish that. At the moment I think of my job as trying to raise the issue. I think as we debate this issue, we'll find ways of working out answers to the political questions, but the debate is the essential thing now. If the issues raised in this room do nothing else but to encourage the people of this country to begin at last to look this issue in the eye, I think we will have really saved jobs and the environment.

Question. Jeanne Stellman, Scientists' Institute for Public Information, New York

My question was actually designed to make you take the plunge you just took, because I was interested in what

you were saying about artificial fibers and also the effect of automation on jobs. The solution, I would think, would not be to go back to producing cotton fibers with a spinning wheel and a loom. Would you comment on the significance of this to the means of production, the sources of production and profits?

Answer.

Right. Well a lot of complicated issues are involved. Clearly you have to start with what the primary need has to be--that of putting shirts on people's backs. Then you have a social task, keeping people fully employed at a decent wage, under decent working conditions. Then you start fitting them together. I think what we've learned from the petrochemical industry is that most of what it produces can be produced in other ways under better conditions. That doesn't mean that you wipe out the entire petrochemical industry, and it doesn't mean that you're going to lose a lot of jobs because, as I pointed out, the petrochemical/energy complex has sales amounting to about 18 percent of the GNP, yet employs only 2.7 percent of the labor force. Out in California the unions are saying that to have jobs we need electrical power. But if you look at those sectors of industry which use power the most intensively, they are also the ones with the least workers. This suggests, as Leonard Woodcock has pointed out often enough, that we need mechanisms for retraining people and for moving them to more socially or environmentally beneficial jobs without disrupting their lives, seniority, etc.

And there are other problems. Wages, for example. In the petrochemical industry the wages are relatively high. Now if we were to switch back to industries based on natural products like leather, more workers might be employed, but very likely at lower wages. Does this mean we should support industries that are labor-intensive but pay low wages? I don't think so. I think we have to decide that some public control over who gets paid what is necessary.

Once you start dealing with these problems you find there's no other way out but to say that production has become a social problem and we need to deal with it socially. Incidentally, re-read NEPA and the other recent federal environmental legislation, and you will discover that they have taken a very important and poorly appreciated legal step. They declare that resources, land and water are social property. Now you can't manufacture goods without using that social property, and so on these grounds production itself must be regarded as social property. This begins to get at the basic issue: Who is to control the nature and direction of production, the owners of the capital or society as a whole?

Question. Morey Wolfson, Environmental Action of Colorado, Denver

I was interested to hear what you were saying about the productivity of energy, capital and labor, and I was wondering how you relate the question of productivity to the retro-fitting of homes with solar energy systems.

Answer.

That is a difficult question to answer because there are little good data. But I can make some general remarks. At CBNS we've just finished a study on the economics of solar collectors on existing homes for hot water and space heating. I can tell you that for a St. Louis home, a solar collector designed to meet about 50 percent of your hot water needs will, today, save you money, if your hot water is now produced by electricity. If gas is deregulated and you're using gas, then you'll also soon be saving money by switching partially to solar heat. As the price of conventional fuels goes up, solar/conventional heating systems will become more and more economical. These systems will be capital-intensive, too. A typical solar heating system may cost $6,000 or $10,000. But they are also labor-intensive, and most important, use the skills of existing trades: sheet metal work, carpentry, plumbing, and so on (rather than specially trained welders, as in nuclear construction). I suggest that the capital could be provided by a rotating mortgage fund. I'd say that if you took the $100 billion that Mr. Rockefeller wants for the Energy Independence Authority and set that up as a floating, rotating mortgage fund for householders, then in perhaps 15 years the great bulk of the residences in the country could be switched over to solar heating installations. The loans would be repaid by the saving in fuel costs.

Another advantage of this scheme is that it combats the inflationary impact of conventional fuels. You see, a conventional, nonrenewable fuel like oil or gas has to go up in price. So the cost of nuclear power is also bound to keep rising for quite a while. This means that every time you spend money now to save energy--installing better insulation or a solar heating system--you are hedging against inflation. It makes sense, therefore, to take money you've got now and sock it away in a solar heating system to avoid the high price of fuel in the future. If this were done on a massive, $100 billion scale--perhaps by eating into the $112 billion military budget--I think it could turn the course of inflation right around.

There's another advantage of solar energy: it can be decentralized. Solar collectors could be built in idle aerospace factories, but they could also be built in a five-worker garage-sized factory. Ordinary plumbers and car-

penters could get work. But it's decentralization is also the major "problem" with solar energy. You see, it's not very susceptible to centralization because the sun is everywhere and because you don't need complex technology to harness it. So big industries are not interested in it.

I think one of the things environmentalists and labor people should do is get together and work out a plan for solar energy which could help put the country on the right track. That's the answer to this $100 billion boondoggle.

Question. Patrick Heffernan, Sierra Club, Southern California

Unfortunately, Southern California Edison is spending $100 million of our money to develop the technology to collect free solar energy and sell it to us. They're doing it out at Palm Desert. But that's not what I want to ask you. Dennis Hayes at Worldwatch, formerly of the Brookings Institute, pointed out that last year West Germany reduced their energy use by 14 percent. They had to because they were reliant 80 percent on Arab oil. If you look at international economic statistics, you see that West Germany is the fastest growing economy in the world. Now I wonder how we can justify what the utility people tell us--and we also hear from some union people--that if we don't plug more energy into the system we aren't going to grow, we aren't going to create more jobs.

Answer.

Well, there are a lot of arguments on that. Sweden now has a higher Gross National Product per capita than we do, and they use half the energy per capita. You must remember that energy is useless except insofar as it delivers work. Work is useless except insofar as it accomplishes a task. So what is crucial is the efficiency with which we use energy to accomplish tasks. As I told you, computed according to the Second Law the overall efficiency with which energy is used in the U.S. is probably about 10-15 percent. Now recently Mr. Zarb sat in front of Mr. Proxmire, looked him straight in the eye and said, "The most energy we could conserve in the U.S. is 5 percent". That's an absolutely staggering error. We need to remember that the waste of energy is built into the economic system--it is necessary in order to substitute capital for labor. To some extent industry can save money as well as energy by better insulation, and cutting back here and there. But when you start talking about really big energy savings, then there is bound to be a battle between labor and capital. Energy is a substitute for the worker. Why union people can't recognize this I don't know. Unlike the worker, energy (driving a machine) remains under the control of management, and as we all know, that's just what they want.

Question. Roger Hickey, Public Interest Media Center, San Francisco and Washington

You've just called for a national debate on the fundamental economic problems you've been talking about, and I think you've begun that debate. Corporate America has a front group which has also begun to address that fundamental debate. It's called the Advertising Council, Incorporated. It's the same people who brought us the "people start pollution, people can stop it" campaign, ignoring the fact that most pollution is caused by corporations. And it's the same people who brought us the productivity campaign. That's the one where you're supposed to sign your hot dogs. It's also a code word for speed-up, among other things. (Productivity meaning labor productivity.) They've now come up with a new one. It's called "the American Economic System and your place in it", and you can imagine where it's coming from--TV spots, radio spots, and print ads, that are going to saturate America in the next several months, several years, started with $230,000 of our money through the Department of Commerce. They're Republicans. They're getting free time on the air for this. My question is: Would you help to prepare the contents of a counter campaign under the Fairness Doctrine and would people here representing the various groups that we do help to get their organizations to endorse a counter campaign and raise the resources so that we can address the other side of that debate, because the Ad Council is going to be heard?

Answer.

I'm glad you brought that up. We've already discussed that at the Scientists' Institute for Public Information. We are prepared to take up that challenge. We think that this debate is necessary if we are ever going to make any sense out of our resource, environmental, and employment problems. Incidentally, the Ad Council is supposed to be a public service group and therefore ought to be accessible to all of us. They have in effect challenged us to the debate, and I think that the only way to respond to this is to really take them on.

It seems to me this is an absolutely urgent task for all of us, conservationists as well as unionists. I can see how some of you may feel very funny; you start out worrying about the conservation of natural resources, but does this mean that you have to now debate the question of socialism? Well, I think you may. I think it may also be very difficult for unionists concerned with jobs, working conditions, and so on, to have to face the responsibility of addressing this fundamental problem.

One of the things this reveals is that for too long in this country "interest groups" have defined their own interests too narrowly. But all of our particular concerns stem from very fundamental general problems, and we have to learn how they are connected to the different special issues. I daresay that if both conservationists and unionists can in this way help the people learn about this country's fundamental problems, they will be looked upon with favor by the people. We will be doing this country a favor if we head out now in hot pursuit of the truth and look for the fundamental causes of the problems that concern us. I think the people of this country are ready for it--maybe not a majority, but after Vietnam, and after Watergate, there are an enormous number of people who know there is something basically wrong, and who are not afraid to look at the truth. That is really what we must do to begin to take up the Ad Council's challenge.

Question. Steve Goldstein, Montana State Low Income Organization, Helena, Montana

It seems to me that you have added another dimension to the Club of Rome's report that made us wonder whether we would run out of clean air and sunlight before we ran out of food or natural resources. It gave us several things to worry about. You've added another leg to the table. Are you telling us that we are going to run out of capital and money first?

Answer.

Yes. Here's a thumbnail sketch: The kind of issues that the Limits to Growth people have been talking about are symptoms, not fundamental causes. The tendency to waste resources is being translated into something that is happening a lot faster, namely, that we are reaching the limits of capital. I think that the drain on resources will express itself first and most explosively in the conflict between capital and labor. If we keep going this way there will be pressure to cut wages, pressure to cut welfare. That is already happening, for example in new building trades wage contracts. Read the reports on the capital shortage. Read Secretary Simon's speeches. He's calling for cutting back on consumption. So what is consumption? Consumption is everything you spend your wages on. It is what the government spends for schools, hospitals, welfare, and so on. And don't forget the military. All military expenditures are consumption. But of course the consumption that Mr. Simon, et al. are calling for does not include the military. You can't preserve military expenditures, and cut consumption without reducing the standard of living.

Another aspect of this issue is the enormous cost and the bureaucracy of the government. EPA, for example, is after all a bureaucracy. It doesn't spend as much money as some government agencies, but it's still a costly bureaucracy. What is it doing? It is attempting to patch up the damage caused by the free enterprise system. It's saying, "Well, now that free enterprise has given us a disastrous system of private automobiles, let's see if we can manipulate traffic, regulate gas mileage, and stick gadgets on the tailpipes to catch pollutants, without hurting free enterprise by forcing a major redesign of the auto." This is a crazy way to solve the problem. The more efficient, less bureaucratic solution is to produce better cars.

Mr. Reagan's belief that socialism necessarily leads to bureaucracy is completely backwards. Here is the best example I know: unemployment. First we throw someone out of work by increased labor productivity. Then, for moral reasons, we decide this person shouldn't starve. Now there are two ways to feed an unemployed person. One way is through going down to the unemployment office, filling out forms and getting interviewed. Then the cards get punched, the computers whirl, and eventually out comes the check. Now that's a lot of bureaucracy. The other way to keep us all fed is to build a production system that provides decent jobs for everyone who can work. The entire unemployment bureaucracy is a wasteful way to use social resources when it would be much simpler to see to it that the production system guaranteed jobs.

The same thing is true of OSHA. If the idea that workers should have a lot to say about the design of our factories were built into our social organization then they would be built safely. In this situation you wouldn't need a vast bureaucracy to inspect and ensure compliance with safety standards. It would be done by the actual workers, on the spot.

When you come right down to it, big government and bureaucracy are inefficient attempts to put patches on wounds that have been created by the failure of the capitalist system. I think a way to end bureaucracy is to introduce social control over the means of production where it counts: in the design and operation of the production process.

Question. Maxine McKeown, South Dakota Environmental Council

Most people believe and most farmers believe in the present orthodox wisdom, that we must produce the food and fiber for this nation by means of chemical farming and high petrochemical inputs. In other words, "If we don't practice agriculture this way", Secretary Butz says, "which 50 million people do you want to starve?" By

the way, I am a farmwife from the South Dakota Environmental Coalition. Your Center recently released a study about organic farming vs. chemical farming. Would this be true and would you just briefly comment on it. Are organic farmers as productive and as efficient as chemical farmers? Thank you.

Answer.

The question refers to a study that we are conducting that is now in its second year. What we are doing is comparing a group of farmers who are not using fertilizer or pesticides with a group of their neighbors who farm by conventional methods. We have compared them in terms of crop yields, value of crops, operating costs, and energy consumption. When we average together the results for the two years studied (this is important because 1974 was a poor year and 1975 was a good year) then we find that both the conventional and "organic" farms had identical average net incomes--$133 per acre. The conventional farms have a higher gross income, but it is cancelled out by higher operating costs. Crop yields are slightly higher on conventional farms--on the order of 10 percent or so. At the very least I would say there is lots of room for cutting back on the use of chemical inputs, without reducing the net income to farmers and very likely without any serious cutbacks in overall production. But this is the kind of adjustment that cannot be automatically done everywhere. Instead, it needs to be worked out on an individual basis. Today's newspaper said farmers have cut back sharply on buying nitrogen fertilizer because the price has gone up. The price is going up because the fertilizer is made from natural gas. And now we all know why the price of natural gas is going up. So the farmers are learning a lesson that environmentalists have talked about for a long time--sooner or later everything is connected to everything else. Thank you.

1. Jobs in Pollution Control Industries
"Plant closings and job losses from pollution control programs. Present and future employment benefits from environmental requirements."
Convenor: Charles Stoddard, No. Env. Council
Resource: Edwin Clark, II, Senior Economist, President's Council on Environmental Quality
Patrick Heffernan, University of California

Toby Clark, Senior Economist from the CEQ, and I found that the environmental jobs workshops were two of the hottest at the conference. Attendence was good, especially at the first one, and after an explanation of some of the environmental job programs and industries, lively discussions began. The topics of those discussions, I think, are a key to some of the economic-environmental solutions we have all been searching for. They also reveal that the problems are far from simple even when you think you have a solution.

The conflict between plant closings in inner city industrialized areas and new plant openings in suburbia..often white, non-union suburbia with a growth limit and expensive housing...was raised early. However, it soon became obvious as we examined the problem that the location decisions were made by industry for their own self-interest and had nothing to do with environmental regulations. The trend to closing older plants in industrial areas, that have been well organized by unions, for "environmental reasons" is really one more industry move to get out from under their obligations to pay decent wages and maintain good working conditions as demanded by a union contract.

The growing environmental protection industry, fastest expanding new source of jobs last year, is guilty of the same offense. Why build a new plant to manufacture air pollution controls in Detroit when the same plant can be run at a fraction of the cost in wages in Birmingham. The solution is organization, a hard solution for environmental organizations to participate in, but local level cooperation seems possible here.

But the real problem is getting the jobs that are created in pollution control out to the people who need them, the unemployed poor and the displaced workers. Many of the new jobs require only a high school degree and some extra training. There are environmental job placement centers in Washington and Los Angeles that may provide a model. They are CETA-funded along with OJT and other fund sources. The trick to getting the new jobs to the people that need them may be in much closer communication and coordination between the environmental protection programs in pollution control and the CETA and other job training programs. Requirements for hiring can also be written into contracts with employers receiving money from pollution control programs, such as the Clean Water Act funds. Expansion of training programs in the environmental areas, coordinated with the funding and requirements for environmental protection seemed an obvious need. It was pointed out that California could not find enough qualified people in 1975 to operate Clean Water plants even though the state had a 9-10% unemployment rate. Over 1000 jobs were open for almost a year because of a lack of needed training facilities, despite the operation of a special Clean Water training school by the state.

EPA is working on the problem, through its Manpower Planning and Training offices. We hope, said one community representative in the audience, that EPA can expand this program to the point "that there are more community people inside of EPA offices getting jobs and training and working, as there are outside choking on the air and getting cancer from the water." Amen. Summary by Patrick Heffernan.

2. Alternative Work Arrangements
"History, environmental implications, and advantages and disadvantages of the four-day week, part-time, flex-time."
Convenor: Patsy Fryman, Communication Workers of America
Resource: Virginia Martin, Committee for Alternative Work Patterns, Washington, D. C.

Until the end of World War II the history of hours of work in the United States had been a gradual shortening of the 6-day, 72 hour workweek of the early Industrial Revolution to the long sought 5-day, 40 hour week that be-

came standard with passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act as part of the Roosevelt administration's New Deal.

Since World War II, however, change has been in the form of rearrangement, rather than shortening, of the workweek.

The first innovation was staggered working hours. As more families moved to the cities and bought a second car, rush hour traffic became the plague of urban centers. In order to disperse traffic over a longer period several large cities initiated community programs to stagger the starting and stopping times of offices and plants located in the same areas. Notable among these efforts are the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey Staggered Work Hours Program in New York City, the Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission program in Philadelphia, and the staggered hours plan for federal agencies in Washington, D. C. Some employers began to stagger the arrival times of different groups of workers within their own organizations to relieve congestion on access roads, parking lots and elevators.

The second innovation was the compressed workweek. Publication of Riva Poor's book 4 Days, 40 Hours in 1970 set off a rash of experiment with this system, which compresses 35 to 40 hours of work into fewer than 5 days a week. Though the 9 to 10 hour day, 4 days a week pattern is the most common, there are other compressed workweek variations. The 3-day week schedules workers for three 12-hour workdays a week, followed by four days of leisure. Under another variation, the 5-4/9 plan, an employee works four slightly longer days one week and five another week out of a two week period. The 4/40 workweek has been used most often in non-union factories and the 3-day week most often in computer centers where four shifts of 12 hour workers provide maximum utilization of expensive equipment and reduce shift change time loss.

While the United States was experimenting with staggered hours and compressed workweeks in the late 60's and early 70's a third alternative workweek was gaining wide acceptance in Europe. This system was flexible workhours, and its radical difference was that it gave workers some control over their own working hours. Flexible working hours and its several variations have also been called flexitime, flextime, gliding time and "gleitzeit" in West Germany where the concept was born. In 1967 Messerschmitt-Bolkow-Blohm, an aerospace firm located outside Munich, sought relief from employee tardiness caused by traffic congestion on the access roads to its plant. It picked up an idea for flexible working hours first proposed by German economist and management consultant Christel Kaemmerer to facilitate employment of women with additional home responsibilities. Messerschmitt-Bolkow-Blohm devised a system which extended the number of hours during which the plant was open to employees and divided the workday into two different kinds of time, core time and flexible time. Core time was the period during which all employees were required to be on the job, for example, it might be 9:30 a. m. to 2:30 p. m. Flexible time was composed of the two periods at either end of the day during which employees could select their own arrival and departure times. These periods, for example, could be 7:00 a. m. to 9:30 a. m. and 2:30 p. m. to 6:00 p. m. Each employee works core time plus enough additional flexible time to meet his or her contracted hours of work. The most controlled of the flexible working hours patterns requires an employee to choose one schedule and follow that schedule on a regular basis. Less rigid versions permit daily variation of starting time, but require that the same number of hours be worked each day. More lenient versions permit variation in length of workday, and even banking or borrowing of hours from one pay period to another. In organizations that allow daily variation of starting time, each department ordinarily establishes minimum coverage requirements during the flexible time periods. Employees take turns committing themselves to meet the minimum coverage requirement and are free to enjoy full flexibility on other days.

By 1972 a few American firms were beginning to use flexible working hours. U.S. branches of European companies such as Lufthansa and Nestle were early users as were such American corporations as Control Data, Hewlett-Packard and Occidental Life Insurance. In this country flexible working hours have most often been instituted in white collar settings, but they have also been used for blue collar workers.

Usage of flexible working hours in the United States has grown steadily, but not nearly so rapidly as it has in Europe, where nearly half of private sector and an increasing number of public sector employees are estimated to be setting their own hours in West Germany, Switzerland and England. Flexible hours are also used in France, Italy, Spain, the Scandanavian countries, Japan and Canada. There are two factors that bear on Europe's more rapid adoption of flexible working hours. The first is Europe's leadership in participative management. There is greater emphasis on job autonomy, worker democracy, trade union representation on boards of directors, and employee ownership. The second is Europe's tradition of longer workdays, usually 10 hours, and absence of law such as our Wash-Healey Public Contracts Act and Contract Work Hours and Safety Standards Act which require federal contractors to pay time and a-half for hours worked in excess of eight per day even when they are worked by employee, rather than employer, choice.

A fourth alternative work schedule is the task system. No set number of hours of work is required under this plan. A task which takes approximately one working day to complete is assigned. When the job is done the

worker is free to leave. Though this practice may be followed informally in a number of organizations, it has most often been formalized for trash collectors and meter readers who are assigned specific routes to cover each day.

The fifth alternative work schedule that has been used with increasing frequency since the early 1960's is part time employment. Its rise is attributable primarily to the steady growth in workforce participation of women with young children. Many people have responsibilities such as after work classes, second job, preparing dinner, or coaching the Little League team.

Compressed Workweeks

The obvious advantage of a three or four-day week to employees is additional days of free time to take care of personal business and pursue other interests. There is also:

- Faster commuting during off-peak hours
- One day's savings in travel, lunch, and child care expense.

Employers find that productivity sometimes increases under a compressed workweek:

- Firms that close down on the fifth day enjoy one day's or 20% saving in heating, cooling and lighting expense, cafeteria operation, start-up and shut-down time, and paid coffee break.
- Even in firms that stay open a fifth day and those that operate around the clock seven days a week productivity may increase. Morale sometimes improves, absenteeism may drop, and it is often easier to recruit for unpopular shifts and an extra day is available for overtime if needed.
- Some police departments use three overlapping 10-hour shifts to provide extra protection during high demand periods of the day and evening.

The community may or may not benefit from the compressed workweek:

- If some organizations work compressed workweeks, traffic will be reduced during the usual rush periods. If, however, everyone worked a 4/40 schedule, commuting would be squeezed into an even more narrow time band than is presently the case.
- Gasoline could be saved and air quality improved if four-day workers stayed at home on the fifth day, but there is no assurance that they won't travel somewhere else in their cars.
- Similarly energy could be conserved if buildings were not cooled, heated, or lighted on the fifth day, but if even a few people worked on the fifth day, this energy would have to be expended anyway.

There are also certain disadvantages to the employer and employee under a compressed week:

- Productivity sometimes declines. When employees are absent there is a 20% greater time loss. Fatigue sometimes increases, especially for those in repetitive and mentally or physically taxing jobs, those who must commute long distances, and those who face additional farm or housekeeping chores at home.
- Four-day firms are out of "sync" with a five-day world. No one is around to receive deliveries and customer phone calls that come in on Friday.
- Public transportation may not be available at early and late hours.
- Workers must commute in the dark during winter months.
- Day care services may not be willing to keep children for longer hours.
- As with staggered hours, there may be interference with other responsibilities such as farm chores or evening classes.

Flexible Working Hours

Flexible hours appear to have all of the advantages of staggered hours, solve some of the problems associated with staggered hours, and provide some distinctive additional benefits as well:

- Whereas car pools are disrupted by staggered hours, their formation is made easier under flexible hours because neighbors who also work close together can adopt the same schedule. Whether this actually happens is debatable. Some people who formerly car-pooled may now take their own cars in order to enjoy more schedule flexibility.
- Whereas staggered hours programs often require adding public transportation service at early and late hours, flexible hours enables people to accommodate their working hours to existing transportation schedules.
- Productivity often increases, and I have heard no reports that it decreases. Several factors contribute to increased productivity:

Employee morale improves markedly when people are given some control over their working hours. People appreciate being treated as responsible adults capable of assuming responsibility for completion of their own work. They also appreciate the opportunity to select schedules that ease commuting and permit better integration of business and personal lives.

Tardiness is drastically reduced because people are able to put in a full day by working later on days when they arrive later.

Short term absenteeism is reduced because people can arrange schedules that permit them to attend to personal business on personal time and save annual leave for true vacations.

People can get more work done during the quiet periods at either end of the day.

Offices can remain open longer hours each day. This is particularly important for government offices such as driver's license bureaus that serve working people who are not free during normal business hours, and for companies with customers located in several different time zones.

- Affirmative action goals can more easily be met and the economic advancement of women speeded when flexible scheduling permits women to remain in the workforce during childbearing years. Their skills can be built up rather than allowed to deteriorate.

- Need for after school day care is reduced when parents can arrange schedules that permit them to be at home when their children return from school.

There are, however, some difficulties with flexible working hours:

- Managers sometimes resist conversion to flexible hours. Some fear loss of control and understaffing at critical periods, even though the experience of organizations that have used flexible hours has shown that these problems do not materialize. A few supervisors feel loss of status when the privilege of controlling time which was formerly reserved to management is made available to hourly workers.

- Unions sometimes resist flexible working hours systems that permit employees to vary the length of their workday unless time and a-half is paid after eight hours.

- Certain work technologies constrain use of flexible hours. For example:

  It is difficult to use individual flexibility in crew or line operations where groups of people must begin and end work at the same time. Team flexibility, however, can sometimes be substituted for individual flexibility in these situations.

  In assembly or other consecutive operations where one person's output becomes another person's input, flexible hours can be used only if buffer inventories can be built up between operations or if jobs are redesigned to give workers more autonomy and responsibility for completion of a whole job. Fortunately such work design is consistent with current job enrichment theory.

  Flexible hours cannot be used for shift workers unless sufficient work stations are available to accommodate overlapping shifts.

From the employee perspective there seem to be no disadvantages to flexible working hours since people are free to follow their old schedules if they prefer. Though there has been some fear that employers might force employees to work longer hours under a flexible system, I have heard no reports that this has actually occurred.

The Task System

The principal advantage of this alternative is that people are motivated to get work finished on schedule and employee morale improves.

The major difficulty is agreeing upon what constitutes a day's work.

Part Time Employment

The community enjoys several advantages from part time employment. It gains the productive resources of a

segment of the population who would not otherwise be able to contribute to GNP.

- Young students are provided an opportunity to test out one or more career fields before undertaking expensive specialized training that is often subsidized by taxpayers.

- Part time employment may sometime be a more equitable way to share available work during economic downturns than the practice of laying off some and retaining others full time. Though at first glance unemployment compensation, sometimes coupled with SUB benefits, appears more advantageous than part time wages, staying on the job keeps one's pension program and health and life insurance in tack and saves people from the mental depression that accompanies unemployment.

- And finally part time employment frees people to contribute their talents to the welfare of the community by serving on boards or committees, as Scout leaders or school aides, or simply by having more time to devote to their own children.

Employers also benefit from part time employment:

- It is a cost effective way to staff for peak load. Bank tellers, for instance, are scheduled for the busy midday hours.

- Payment of full time wages for part time work loads is avoided. Theater ushers, for example, can be employed only for the hours that their services are needed.

- Fatigue is less in monotonous and physically straining work.

- Promising students can be recruited as full time workers after graduation.

- When women can be retained during childbearing years on a parttime basis, the organization continues to reap a return on training invested in those employees.

From the employee perspective there are several advantages to part time employment:

- Women who cannot or prefer not to work full time while their children are young benefit economically when part time employment permits them to keep abreast of their fields and continue to earn income.

- Students, both young people and older workers returning to school in order to upgrade skills, can earn income.

- Persons nearing retirement age can withdraw gradually from their jobs, easing the transition psychologically, and perhaps enabling them to set up post retirement businesses of their own while they still have income from another source.

- Retirees can supplement their pension and Social Security income and avoid the depression that often accompanies complete withdrawal from the workforce.

- Morale of full time workers is improved when part time employment is substituted for involuntary overtime.

Part time employment also has its drawbacks.

For the employer there are:

- Greater recruiting, training, and record keeping expense than if the organization were staffed completely by full time employees.

- Communications may be more difficult. Meetings, for example, must be scheduled when part timers are available.

- Supervisors may need to spend more time setting up schedules that accommodate both the work load and employees' hours of availability.

- In jobs that require a number of skills, it may take the part timer longer to perform as productively as the full time worker.

There are also disadvantages for the part time worker:

- Income is less, not only because payment is received for fewer hours of work, but also because part time employment is concentrated in entry level positions where little training need be invested in the worker. At the other end of the spectrum, part time employment is also available to fully trained professionals in labor short fields, doctors, nurses, computer programmers, for example. But numerically, it is the low paying part time jobs that predominate.
- Part time employees may not receive fringe benefits.
- There are fewer promotional opportunities for part time workers.
- Part-timers are the first fired in many instances.
- Supply of part time workers exceeds demand for their services.
- For the part time worker, part time employment may eliminate overtime desired by some full time employees. There is fear that full time workers may be replaced by cheaper part time labor. There is fear that part-timers, who suffer less fatigue, may work at a faster pace and push up piece rate standards.

Summary by Virginia Martin.

3. CETA and other Federal Funds for your Community
"Use of funds for recruitment, training, and placement of workers and wage subsidization in environmentally related jobs in private and public sector."
Resource: Gerald Donaldson and Shirley Robock, Office of Manpower Development and Training, National Urban League
Laura Reyes Kopack, New Detroit, Inc.

CETA, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, was passed in December of 1973 and amended in December of 1974 because of the recession. The general purpose of the Act is "to provide job training and employment opportunities for economically disadvantaged, unemployed and underemployed persons, and to assure that training and other services lead to maximum employment opportunities and enhance self-sufficiency by establishing a flexible and decentralized system of federal, state and local programs."

The Act decentralized, and was intended to decategorize, the then existing two billion dollar annual federal manpower program which had been carried out through more than 10,000 contracts with private and public agencies and corporations. Now, responsibility for carrying out coordinated manpower programs rests with about 530 chief elected officials of cities, counties or states, or combinations of these, designated as prime sponsors. The Act was the first of the special revenue sharing bills to be passed by Congress.

Let us look briefly at the various titles in the Act, particularly Title I, which concentrates on training and placement of persons in jobs in the private sector, and Titles II and VI, which pertain to the public sector.

Title I repeats the general purpose of the Act and provides for various manpower services including:

-Outreach to eligible applicants
-Intake
-Assessment
-Counselling to establish an employability plan--short & long range
-Orientation
-Referral to necessary services, skill training or basic education
-Job development--could be in environment related industries
-Job placement--direct, OJT (explain) or work experience
-Follow-up to ensure retention
-Some transitional public service employment

Under Title I, planning councils are required, with citizen participation in the development of annual manpower plans which set goals as to the type of programs to be offered, the clients to be served and the agencies to be contracted to implement the programs. Each prime sponsor must annually submit a grant application to the regional office of the Department of Labor which includes a comprehensive manpower program for the coming

fiscal year. As you probably know, this year the federal government is shifting the start of the fiscal year from July 1 to October 1 of each year, and programs this year will be funded for a "fifth quarter", from July 1 to September 30. In most prime sponsors areas, programs funded for fiscal 1976 are being extended for the additional three months and funded at ¼ their fiscal '76 appropriation; but this is not mandatory. Title I also provides special discretionary funds to governors, assistance in vocational educational programs and mandates a state manpower services council to coordinate activities.

Title II provides for placing disadvantaged, unemployed and underemployed persons in jobs providing needed public services in areas of substantial unemployment. Originally a transition requirement was included providing that at least 50% of those placed should be transferred to jobs in the private sector, but this stipulation has been removed because of the scarcity of private jobs. Most jobs are temporary and provide little training, but could provide needed manpower in environmental related jobs, such as water purity control, or air pollution testing, park and recreation maintenance, etc. Areas eligible for funding must have had a rate of unemployment in excess of 6.5% for three consecutive months.

Title III spells out federal responsiblities: for special target groups, such as youth, Indians, migrants and elderly; research, evaluation, removal of artificial barriers to employment, and technical assistance.

Title IV is concerned with the job corps, residential training centers.

Title V establishes the National Commission for Manpower Policy - to set policy, assess present programs as to whether they are meeting needs in an integrated, coordinated approach and to suggest future programs. The present Title VI, I will discuss in detail. The original Title VI, and now Title VII, covers the special provisions for implementing the Act.

The present Title VI, which provides the most funding for the kinds of public sector jobs we are concerned with here, was established in the Emergency Jobs and Unemployment Assistance Act of 1974. It provided a temporary measure authorized then only until December 31, 1975 to counter the economic crisis present at that time. The intent was to create <u>new</u> jobs, and prime sponsors were <u>not</u> to rehire civil servants laid off because of the recession - a "maintenance of effort" was required; but, because many cities, like New York, were forced to cut payrolls severely, this restriction has been waived in many locations. New instructions establish % of rehires at the proportion unemployed civil servants are to all unemployed or 10% maximum. Proposed legislation to extend funding of Title VI imposes a 10% ceiling on rehiring. As a result of present rehiring, the economically disadvantaged, and long time unemployed who were to be given preference in assistance under the original intent of CETA have continued to be neglected, and the more skilled recent civil servant is being assisted by Title VI. About 310,000 jobs are authorized under present Title VI funding.

According to the law, an individual is eligible for Title VI public service jobs after being unemployed 30 days, except in areas with greater than 7% unemployment where only a 15 day waiting period is necessary. Preferred consideration "to the maximum extent feasible" was to be given to those who had exhausted their unemployment insurance benefits, were not eligible for such benefits but who had some work experience--and to those who had been unemployed 15 weeks or longer. A national average wage rate of $7,800 per full-time position was to be achieved with an overall $10,000 maximum for federally supported salaries, but the $10,000 could be supplemented by the local government.

According to the law, the program was designed to have an immediate impact at the local level. Prime sponsors were "to develop large, labor intensive employment projects which provided immediate jobs for a maximum number of participants in employment with all available public service employing agencies within the community, including local public employers and private non-profit agencies." In reality, few really new jobs were created.

Jobs related to environmental problems which have been funded under Title VI include: cleaning stream and river banks, testing air quality, clearing paths and trailways, and informing homeowners on energy saving measures. Communities of 10,000 or less outside of standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSAS) can also spend funds for construction and rehabilitation, alteration or improvement of water and waste disposal facilities. Spending on capital investment or construction is generally forbidden. 90% of the Title VI funds must be spent on wages. Some communities are linking community development funds (HUD) for winterization programs Economic Development Administration Funds (EDA) from the Commerce Department with CETA funds, so that the "bricks and mortar" costs can be borne by these other programs. Jobs have been funded for park and recreation, lake and stream development.

The exact amount of funding for each Title is difficult to determine because of carry overs and discretionary allocations. However, funding for Title I programs for fiscal '76 and the transition period nationally has been set at $1.7 billion. Title II base allocation for fiscal '76 and for fiscal '77 is about $350 million which provides for

about 50,000 jobs. A discretionary amount of $119 million has been authorized to allow prime sponsors to maintain enrollments throughout fiscal '76(til October 1) at the level reached on April 30, 1975. Fiscal year '76 Title VI allocation was about $1.4 billion, with discretionary funding of $152 million which provided about 260,000 jobs.

About 1.6 million persons were in all the CETA programs in the last half of 1975, including 1.1 million in job training and a half-million in public service employment. Job training, like public service employment puts subsistence cash in the hands of those in the programs with the hope that they will be placed in unsubsidized jobs after the training is completed.

Following are the number of economically disadvantaged persons placed under various CETA programs in unsubsidized jobs:

Title I	(Comprehensive Training, Employment Services)	111,000
Title II	(Public Service Employment)	6,500
Title III	(National Work and Training for Special Groups)	23,800
Title IV	(Job Corps Residential Service Program for Youth)	11,200
Title VI	(Emergency Public Service Employment)	10,500
		163,000

I have copies of the allocations to each prime sponsor for Titles I, II, and VI for fiscal '76, which you may look at after the session. I am sorry I do not have copies for each of you.

The authorization for the Title VI jobs expired on June 30, 1975, and local government units which operate as prime sponsors of the program have been funding it since then through special appropriations included in the fiscal 1976 continuing appropriations resolution (PL 94-41). These funds began to run out in some areas in December 1975. Assistant Secretary of Labor William H. Kolberg told the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Sub-Committee on Employment, Poverty and Migratory Labor on April 5 that unless Congress acted, approximately 80 prime sponsors would be forced to lay off over 115,000 public service employees by mid-June 1976.

On April 12, thanks to flu vaccine promotion, Congress appropriated monies in one bill for a variety of purposes including PSE jobs:

$135 million for flu virus immunization
1.2 billion to continue 260,000 public service jobs until February 1977
55.9 million to provide 15 000 jobs thru June 1977 for older americans, over 55
528.4 million to summer youth programs
23 million for summer recreation programs for disadvantaged youth
300 million to liquidate previously appropriated contract authority for federal waste water treatment programs.

On April 16, the Labor Department allocated $960 million of the $1.2 billion in emergency public service employment funds to 416 large areas with unemployment above 6.5 percent where job funds are running low.

Secretary of Labor W. J. Usery, Jr. said the funds, 80 percent of the $1.2 billion appropriation signed by President Ford April 12, would be applied immediately to forestall layoffs of federally subsidized workers in Title II areas.

The funds, authorized under Title II of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), will be used to continue programs through January 1977.

There is some question about shifting Title VI employees to Title II, and the situation needs clarification, and there is much uncertainty about future Title VI funding. A study of Public Service Employment (PSE) programs in 49 rural Wisconsin counties shows that the annual cost to the government of creating one PSE position there is $7,900, with 96 percent of that amount going directly into wages and fringe benefits for the job-holder.

In a letter to Wisconsin's Congressional delegation, the Executive Director of the State Manpower Council which oversees PSE and other federally funded job programs in the state, severely criticized the Ford Administration's fiscal year 1976-77 budget proposal which calls for eliminating PSE funding under Titel VI of CETA, and for phasing down some of the other CETA manpower programs. "A seven percent unemployment rate for Wisconsin, with eight percent in the nation, is far too high for the government to be eliminating job programs for those who need jobs most--the economically disadvantaged."

"The President's budget proposal, will mean 35 percent fewer dollars next year for Wisconsin's manpower programs, and thousands of people deprived of meaningful jobs and job training," he said. "Eliminating Title 6 funds alone will knock 4,400 PSE employees off their jobs in the state."

"What is to become of the 4,400 people employed with Title 6 funds when that money is no longer available? Ford argues that they will be absorbed by the private sector, but our information indicates that recovery in Wisconsin private industry is slow, and that these people will not find jobs," he said.

Proposed legislation to extend Title VI was introduced by Rep. Dominick Daniels of New Jersey and passed by the House in February of this year. Its companion Bill, introduced by Sen. Gaylord Nelson is now pending before the Poverty Sub-Committee, but is expected to be modified before being reported out. It provides for funding which would fluctuate with the unemployment rate.

The House Bill calls for $1.2 billion for FY'76 to provide 600,000 jobs and possibly $6 billion through FY'77 to provide an estimated 1 million jobs. It has two parts: Part A ($300 Mil.) to be administered by prime sponsors would give priority to laid off fire, police and sanitation workers, with a maximum salary of $12,000 for up to 1/3 of the participants. Part B would authorize the funding on a project basis, some to be implemented by the prime sponsors and others by non-profit agencies, school districts and other groups.

You, in your communities, can become involved in determining what programs are to be funded by CETA by becoming members of your local Manpower Planning Councils, and/or insisting on public meetings to discuss priorities. Each prime sponsor must publish in a local newspaper the fact that a grant application has been submitted and must make available a copy of the proposed and final comprehensive manpower plan. June and July will be crucial planning months for preparing plans for FY'77 funding. Non-profit agencies can be employers of public service employees paid by Title II or Title VI funds. They can also contract with a prime sponsor to administer any or all of the manpower services authorized under Title I: intake through follow-up after placement on a job of eligible applicants. An agency could just develop jobs in the environmental sector, or recruit, train and place workers.

Authorization for CETA itself expires at the end of FY'77; but it is difficult to believe that manpower programs will again be highly centralized in Washington. The Administration now does favor phasing out Title VI, however. The level of unemployment and prospects for general economic recovery--and the Presidential election--will determine the future emphasis on public service jobs and funding for Title II and VI.

Summary by Shirley Robock

4. Appropriate Technologies--Who Are They Appropriate For?

"How technology can be used to increase employment in the U.S. and third World countries."

Convenor: Ginny Collette, Public Interest Economist, Public Interest Economics Foundation

Resource: Alan Poole, Energy Analyist, Institute for Energy Analysis, Oak Ridge, Tennessee
Paolo Strigini and Marian Lowe, Science for the People, Boston, Massachusetts

The workshop on appropriate technology attracted about fifteen people, mostly environmentalists. It was convened by Ginny Collette, from Washington, D.C. Public Interest Economics Foundation, who introduced the resource persons and asked everyone else to introduce themselves. She reminded the group that our task was to define the political and economic relevance of appropriate technologies.

Alan Poole, from Oak Ridge, Tennessee Institute for Energy Analysis, started his talk by remarking that the first and most important decision is the definition of the task, or social goal for which an appropriate technology has to be chosen or designed, rather than the appropriateness of such technologies for a given task. Thus, for example it is more important for a developing country to decide how much effort is to be directed toward car production, than to choose which technologies are to be developed for that purpose. The latter position he attributed to E. F. Schumacher, author of "Small is Beautiful" and popular promoter of appropriate technology. A similar case was made by Poole for energy supply in the industrial world.

Among the main characteristics of an appropriate technology, according to Poole, are:

(1) full consideration of environmental effects, which are usually not included in cost accounting by producers;

(2) careful choice of size, rather than unilateral consideration for the economies of mass production, which disregard the fact that large centralized plants involve huge capital investment and bureaucratic management, and therefore may become too rigid to respond properly to changing demand and to technical innovation;

(3) concern for labor intensity, particularly crucial in this country because of the high rate of structural unemployment, and

(4) the related concern for agriculture, crucial in developing countries, in order to mobilize human resources which are needed for development. Poole stressed the fact that the U.S. model in Brazil, one of the few "successful" cases, has produced a 33% increase in the average national income, but left 40% of the people (the lower income classes) exactly as poor as before. All Brazilian people except the very rich, but especially those (80%) who live in the countryside, are relatively poorer than before.

The following discussion started with some remarks by Paolo Strigini and Marian Lowe, from Boston, Massachusetts Science for the People. Strigini observed that in our economy the price mechanism determines what is produced (including the technology adopted) and who can buy it. Even though appropriate technologies could be introduced, there is no reason to expect something different from what happened before, that is, the emergence through competition of large monopolies which would then reproduce the present situation. He stressed the need for new mechanisms to make sure that economic and technical decisions are determined by social needs, rather than by profit expectations. Lowe emphasized the need for concrete plans to meet the real needs for better social services and jobs, in order to convince consumers and workers of the real advantages inherent in new ways of doing things. She pointed out that environmentalists cannot be too abstract: at some point we shall have to confront the corporate power and the political forces which have pushed centralization, waste and pollution. We want to confront them with a large alliance of labor, previously unorganized workers and community groups.

Several people agreed that labor might play a key role in economic and technical decisions, and thus in determining what is appropriate technology. For example, an idea of Lowe's was discussed in some detail. Sheet-metal workers (presently 25% unemployed) would be probably among the most knowledgeable people to help designing and constructing solar collectors and other new gadgets, if some financial support was provided by central and local governments. Such funding should be made available to low income neighborhoods, households and union cooperatives, rather than to business and contractors. Short term rehabilitation plans and simple solar devices could then become to be implemented, gradually gathering strength and experience for the long term plans which are also needed, but remain now the domain of big business and big government. It was noted that UAW is also interested in solar devices and that this idea has been tried before: it was proposed that a task force be organized around it. This was not done, however, because too few (and otherwise busy) people were present at this workshop and none of them was a labor representative.

The need for long term planning, especially done by community and working people, was also stressed by several people during the discussion. It was pointed out by Strigini that big decisions--such as whether to build a nuclear plant or not--are based on the cost of capital and labor for that project--always estimated in dollars. The real question, however, is how to best allocate the available resources, including the labor force, among different projects and purposes. Business is incapable of such planning, and this is why things are done the way they are. That business economic plans may become disastrous for all of us, is shown by the current projections of President Ford: 5% economic growth per year with 7% unemployment throughout the 70's. In the 60's we had 3 to 4% growth with 5% unemployment, but now (according to business plans) it would take an unsustainable 10% growth just to go back to the official 5% unemployment level. These figures illustrate better than anything else --according to Poole and Strigini--the need for a new and appropriate--less capital intensive--technology and for rational planning by the people.

Most of those present agreed. State programs, such as the Resource Recovery in California ($2.5 billions bonds issued and 100,000 to 150,000 new jobs for the next ten years), were cited as examples of rational planning, technically innovative and directed to meet social needs. An opposite example was cited by Karl Limvere, from North Dakota National Farmers Union. He stated that an appropriate technology for American agriculture does not exist, a situation which is created and maintained by the dominance of agribusiness over land grant universities. Furthermore, tax incentives help manufacturers to sell farmers an excessive amount of equipment and chemicals, while reducing the demand for labor.

Other cases were discussed, of unilateral bad planning which benefits mostly business or a middle class bureaucracy. Walter Tytus and Martin Cook, from Louisville, KY and Atlanta, GA Urban League pointed out the neglected needs for decent housing, transportation and job opportunities in poor communities, where urban renewal really means "nigger removal". Lionel Fernandez, from Rockville, MD Office of Health Resources Opportunity, stressed the inadequacies of the present system for health care delivery and for industrial safety. Many other important contributions to the discussion were made. It was agreed that in all cases short term and long term planning should be made and should involve the people affected.

Summary by Paolo Strigini

5. Pollution or Clean-Up--Who Pays?
"If pollution is cleaned up, who pays? Who pays and how, if it is not cleaned up?
Resource: Roger Conner, Executive Director, West Michigan Environmental Action Council

The participants engaged in a dialogue exploring who bears the cost of pollution and pollution controls. The consensus was that there is no way to avoid paying for environmental damage. The only question is who will pay. If pollution is not controlled, it is inevitably the workers, the poor, the powerless who suffer the consequences in damage to their health and loss of quality of their lives in the city.

If pollution controls are installed, the cost gets passed on to the ultimate consumers of the products. The group concluded that charges by industry that pollution controls should be weakened to save jobs and the economy were unfounded and should be rejected. The consumers of the products must pay the full cost of what they buy.

Summary by Roger Conner

6. Alternative Economics
"Why the old economic remedies for inflation, unemployment and resource scarcity aren't working and where to go from here."
Convenor: Peter Harnik, Coordinator, Environmental Action
Resource: Hazel Henderson, Princeton Center for Growth Alternatives

Approximately 40 people participated, including environmentalists, workers, farmers, land reformers, and economists. The session was very interesting and provocative, and there was considerable enthusiasm to repeat it (although this was not possible because of the lack of time).

We discussed some of the factors that were leading forward thinkers to question the current economic system, including such items as the energy shortage, the capital shortage and the increased amount of structural unemployment in the society.

We attempted to sketch out some new areas that "mainline" economists were not discussing--such as an "employment tax credit" rather than an investment tax credit. We also talked about land ownership, particularly the amassing of land as contrasted to the founding fathers' concept of private property.

There was also some discussion of workers being paid fairly for their output, and whether workers should share in the ownership of the means of production.

Although no position paper was developed, there was agreement that these issues needed to be pursued among the various groups which were being excluded by the current economic system.

Summary by Peter Harnik

7. Growth and the Poor
"Does economic growth really help people out of poverty? If growth is eliminated, what will eliminate poverty?"
Convenor: Gail Daneker, Growth Policy Specialist Zero Population Growth
Resource: Hazel Henderson, Princeton Center for Growth Alternatives
Berkley Watterson, International Representative, UAW, Community Services Department

This workshop evolved into the caucus, "Environment and the Poor". The discussion is summarized in their report to the general assembly on Thursday morning, May 6.

8. Energy Conservation

"A concentrated look at national energy conservation policies and strategies."

Convenor: Tish Davis, Coordinator, Urban Environment Conference

Resource: Joe Browder, Executive Vice President, Environmental Policy Center
Willie Dubitsky, Office of Energy Conservation, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

Workshop #1

The workshop discussion was focused on the need for fundamental change in our energy production system rather than individual efforts to reduce energy use. An attempt was made to relate systemic causes of energy waste to patterns of unemployment, environmental degradation and social injustice. Joe Browder of the Environmental Policy Center raised three main issues for discussion:

1. the drain of capital away from job producing sectors of the economy (e.g. housing, manufacturing, services) caused by electric utilities' reliance on inefficient large scale generating units;
2. an investment return system that encourages utilities to spend as much money as possible on plants and equipment (i.e. the more it costs to produce electricity, the more profits made by utility stockholders; and
3. the chain of jobs and capital away from the industrial regions of the East and Midwest due to plans to shift coal production to the federally controlled lands in the Rocky Mountains and Northern Plains.

Workshop #2

Participants in the second energy conservation workshop discussed the fundamental causes and effects of inefficient energy use (See Workshop #1 above). It was acknowledged that the general public and the labor sector, in particular, is not aware of these fundamental issues, and the workshop ended with a discussion of the need not only for education, but for organized political action.

NOTE: Willie Dubitsky has developed a detailed analysis of the relationship between energy conservation and labor. The paper includes the following sections: Options for the Office of Energy Conservation with Respect to Consultations with Labour; Can Labour Prolong the Days of Cheap and Abundant Sources of Energy?, The End of the Days of Cheap and Abundant Energy - Consequences for Labour. But Why Conserve?; Options for Labour.

Summary by Tish Davis

9. Energy Options

"A comparison of the employment, health, safety, and energy intensiveness of nuclear vs. solar energy."

Convenor: Hal Scott, President, Florida Audubon

Resource: David M. Fradin, Executive Vice President
Environmental Balance Association of Minnesota
Ron Beckman, Environmental Design Specialist, REDECORP
Bernard McMonigle, Research,
Sheet Metal Workers International Association

The Energy Options Workshop benefitted from the presence of three well informed resource persons who touched on a variety of matters relating to alternate sources of energy. Considerable attention was paid to nuclear power and solar energy.

Mr. Beckman who has been vitally concerned with the UAW's energy options program at Black Lake, was able to explain to us some of the many programs now underway at the UAW Education Center.

David M. Fradin provided a computer simulator game which helped those in attendance grasp the seriousness of the energy problems the nation faces and the fact that there are no easy answers. Mr. McMonigle discussed the Sheet Metal Workers International Association's research activities, especially with regard to solar power.

Ultimately the discussion turned to the pros and cons of nuclear power - primarily with respect to the safety of nuclear technology. The group benefitted from the presence at the meeting of several people well informed about nuclear power who offered their help in explaining what they saw to be its advantages and disadvantages.

The workshop itself was followed up by two additional meetings on the subject of nuclear power convened by Marcia K. Elder. From the workshops spearheaded by Ms. Elder emerged a committee to seek ways to bridge the gap between environmentalists and labor unions with regard to nuclear power and to search out the best means of educating the public about energy alternatives. That committee is currently seeking to establish objectives and guidelines which will help it maintain the momentum which developed at Black Lake.

Summary by Hal Scott

10. Powerline-for Change: Utilities
"How environmentalists, unions, and community groups are organizing for changes in rate structures consumer rights, and public ownership."
Convenor: Tim Sampson, Citizens Action League, California
Resource: Mike Troutman, Utility Project Environmental Action Foundation
Laura Arnold, Citizens Energy Coalition, Indiana

Community organizers, trade unionists, and environmentalists discussed various strategies for challenging the policies of America's private power companies. All three constituencies evidenced strong interest and agreement in working toward utility reforms--notably rate structure reforms, such as lifeline rates. Attention focused on building broad-based citizen organizations to counter the powerful utility lobbies. In fact, utility issues were considered good issues for bringing together consumers, unionists, environmentalists, farmers, senior citizens, and low-income people for on-going organizing efforts.

Representatives of the Citizens Energy Coalition of Indiana and the Citizens Action League of California outlined in detail how they built state-wide coalitions using utilities as their organizing focus. Workshop participants pumped CEC and CAL organizers with specific questions on their campaigns, as over 20 utility activists shared their many organizing experiences.

This workshop evolved into the special workshop summarized below.

Public Ownership of Utilities

Convenors: Martin Baker Washington Environmental Council, Washington State
Mike Troutman, Utility Project, Environmental Action Foundation
Roger Wyatt, United Auto Workers/Citizens Energy Coalition, Indiana

Almost 20 conference participants met in a special workshop to discuss how publicly-owned utilities can meet community concerns. Martin Baker explained how the municipally-owned Seattle City Light system has responded to pressure from environmental and community groups in establishing inverted rates and energy conservation programs. Increased public control through public ownership was seen as beneficial to environmental, labor, and community interests.

Much attention was given to the hows of organizing a public takeover of private power companies. A special concern was the feeling that many people do not trust public enterprises to provide efficient and reliable service. We also discussed how a campaign for public power would fit the organizing goals of community and environmental groups.

Summary by Mike Troutman

11. Strip Mined Land and People
"A comparison of the politics, economics, and environmental impacts of strip mining in Four Corners, Montana and Appalachia."
Resource: Maureen O'Connell, Save Our Cumberland Mountains
Phil Tawney, Northern Rockies Action Group
Frank Thurman, United Mine Workers
Gerald Wilkinson, National Indian Youth Council, Inc.

The conference workshop on strip mining was attended by approximately 25 people who had a wide range of background and experience with the issue. Each panel member made a short presentation of his or her particular dealings with the strip mining issue before the discussion was opened up.

Gerald Wilkerson graphically described the coal boom in the Southwestern desert, and concentrated on the problems associated with the coming coal gasification projects. Large gasification plants, projected for the Four Corners area, will require massive new strip mines on the Navajo lands, the diversion of water now planned for tribal agricultural development, and the serious threat of health and environment problems for the region. He described the current status of a long-debated bill to provide federal loan guarantees for coal gasification plants.

Dave Ostendorf of Illinois followed up on Wilkerson's talk by describing his organization's work on the gasification issue. The plants are slated for the Illinois coalfields as well so their impact has become a major concern of people in that area.

Phil Twaney of Montana focused on the issue of coal taxation and described that state's unique 30% severance tax on coal and the trust fund into which half of the revenue is deposited for use after the coal has been depleted.

Finally, Maureen O'Connell of Tennessee described the impact of mountain strip mining of residents of the Appalachian mountains and related her organization's struggle to prevent the arrival of AMAX Coal Co., which has planned a major new mine for Tennessee.

After these presentations, the discussion returned to the issues of coal gasification and coal taxation, which clearly interested all participants who were working on coal issues. Many questions were asked about conditions in the various coal-producing parts of the country. Because of the interest in the coal gasification issue and the immediately impending legislation regarding the federal subsidies, the group decided to have a coal caucus meeting later in the conference. The coal caucus met twice and established a rudimentary communications network regarding the various organizations' work on the gasification legislation and other strip mining problems.

Summary by Maureen O'Connell

12. In-Plant Environment
"General discussion of in-plant working conditions, including special effects on women."
Convenor: Frank Wallick, International Representative, UAW
Resource: Jeanne Stellman, Chairperson, Task Force on Workplace Environment SIPI and co-author of Work is Dangerous to Your Health
Arthur Keys, United Church Board for Homeland Ministry

Working people--whether they work in a factory, a hospital, an office, or a school--work in polluted and dangerous environments. Most environmentalists, until very recently, have ignored this environment. Yet the insights, the concern about, and the methods for dealing with the total environment often apply equally to the workplace environment.

Today noise, dangerous and untested chemical substances, bad ventilation, and other health hazards are pounding away, shortening the lives of millions of American workers.

There is no better way for labor and environmentalist to join together than in grappling with the problems of the workplace environment. Yet the question arises--where do we begin? There is currently a great new consciousness about the health hazards of the workplace environment. Some of this has come because of the national worker health and safety law (OSHA), and some has come from the worldwide awakening of environmental peril for which we can thank environmentalists. And some of it has always been there--better working conditions have always been high on labor's agenda. There is more sophistication about what affects human health.

Many unions today have sought to highlight their concerns about noise, cancer-causing chemicals, and other hazards. When they reach out to the public for support--environmentalists should be there to lend a helping hand. In Buffalo, N. Y. a chemical plant on strike produced vinyl chloride at unsafe levels and with unsafe procedures which threaten an entire community.

In several communities there have arisen union-supported coalitions which bring together union and environmental activists. These have worked well in Chicago, San Francisco, Boston, Philadelphia and Cleveland. They can supply information, ideas, and backup support to attain a better workplace environment.

The opportunity for greater confidence in understanding the goals of each group are excellent.

The workshop at the Black Lake conference consisted of people from all groups. Chairing the group were Dr. Jeanne Stellman, co-author of "Work Is Dangerous to Your Health" and Frank Wallick, author of "The American Worker: An Endangered Species" and editor of UAW Washington Report.

What Local Groups Can Do to Help Improve the Workplace Environment

1. Seek out like-minded people in your community. Find the union health and safety people. Most unions today have such people. Every large UAW plant, for instance, has a fulltime health and safety rep trained to take noise measurements, and who is often doing studies into the health effects of chemical substances used at the workplace.

2. Set up shadow public support groups to be mobilized into action when a trade union group--like the vinyl chloride plant on strike in Buffalo--needs public understanding and intervention.

3. Use the Chicago area occupational safety and health group (CACOSH) as a model. Bring medical students, med school professors, community health, and workers together. Set up conferences, seminars, training courses. Establish an information center with a basic library of resource material. Exchange materials and put the pressure on public officials. Make OSHA more accountable to health hazard problems.

4. Train yourself in a better understanding of health hazards at the workplace. Become an expert in some of the more common hazards--such as noise. Learn the techniques for controlling ventilation.

Summary by Frank Wallick

13. Housing and Neighborhood Conservation
"The relationship of housing and housing policies to urban and rural environments."
Convenor: Paul Danels, National Urban League
Resource: Sidney Howe, Consultant, Potomac Institute
Cushing Dolbeare, Rural Housing Alliance

Cushing Dolbeare stated that the major obstacle to the improvement of housing conditions for low income people is the subsidy structure maintained by our national housing policy. To produce better low income housing, we must exact basic changes in this policy.

Basically, we are subsidizing the wrong people. At the top end of the income strata (households with incomes over $50,000 a year) greater than 9 out of 10 of those households get housing subsidies in the form of tax write-offs. The average subsidy for each of these households amounts to approximately $200.00 a month. At the other end of the income strata are households whose incomes are below $3000. These people receive only 7% of the housing subsidies. The solution must be to give low income people a greater portion of the housing subsidies nationally.

Most subsidies are obtained by people in the upper income brackets, as a matter of right, through the federal income tax system. In FY 76-77, it is estimated that the tax system will provide about $14 billion in indirect subsidies to middle and upper income homeowners. Direct subsidies to low and moderate income individuals in the same period available through HUD and the Farmers' Home Loan Bank Board programs will amount to only $4 billion. Again, to improve the quality of housing for the poor and moderate income individual, we must reallocate our national housing subsidies.

Sid Howe stated that the basic environmental problem in housing stems from deficiencies in our national land use system. Basically, there is a conflict between suburban land use policies, as they currently exist and the development of decent housing for inner city people. What is needed is a re-direction of our efforts in the suburban environmental and planning control field, to take into account the social inequities which are created.

Environmentalists have provided some good direction on certain issues affecting inner city people. Those efforts have been largely outside the traditional environmental constituency, and have been largely issue oriented, i.e., dealing with lead paint poisoning rather than the overall quality of housing itself.

Mr. Howe cited an example of an adjustment in land use policy, which would provide better housing for the inner city. By more densely developing suburbs and providing funds for rehabilitation of housing in the inner city, we could achieve better energy and land efficiencies. At the same time, by taking a metropolitan approach to

environmental equity, we could address the current inequities of environmental quality distribution. Mr. Howe cited some efforts to equalize environmental mal-distribution, e.g., the Center for Public Representation and the service equalization efforts of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights. However, he also cited the need for monitoring of the equity effects of current environmental programs. He would like to see environmental forces meet locally with housing agencies to develop environmental policies which would not constrict housing opportunities for the poor.

Summary by Paul Danels

14. Toxic Chemicals
"Background on the extent of toxic chemicals in the environment, how people get exposed to them, and ways toxic chemicals are and are not regulated at the state and federal level."
Convenor: Fred Burton, AFL-CIO
Resource: Steven Stellman, American Health Foundation
George Coling, Environmental Health Specialist, Urban Environment Conference

The Toxic Substances Workshop at the Black Lake Conference was held on Tuesday morning. About 10 people, plus the convenor, and two resource people attended. Fred Burton of the AFL-CIO Research Department was Convenor. George Coling of the Urban Environment Conference and Steven Stellman of the American Health Federation were the Resource people. Mr. Burton led off by stressing that toxic substances control was indeed an issue on which labor and environmental groups agreed and worked together. The Toxic Substances Control Act is currently before Congress and the labor/environmental lobby is working hard for its passage.

Mr. Coling gave a brief overview of the ways in which toxic substances are regulated by Federal law and distributed some written material on this subject. He also spoke briefly on the scope of environmental disease, particularly environmental cancer. He also alluded to more background information which he was supplying. Dr. Stellman spoke on the nature and extent of environmental cancer. Some of the points covered include types of agents which cause environmental and occupational cancer, the types of exposures to carcinogens, scientific principles such as the no-threshhold effect and latency period, and the fact that environmental cancer is geographically-clustered.

In the subsequent group discussion, the following major areas were covered:

-Pesticides: how pesticides are regulated, particularly exposures to farmworkers, how pesticide use is linked with agribusiness, the abuses of agribusiness practices, particularly in the land use area.

-Arsenic: A participant had recently been in touch with a local official who had found arsenic in the air near a foundry. What are the health implications of this finding? Who can furnish technical assistance to the participant and the local official who wish to monitor the situation further? What efforts in this area have taken place in other areas?

-Refineries: A refinery was being built near the home of another participant. Where can one obtain information on how a refinery works and what its effluents are? What agencies regulate the construction of refineries? How can the community health hazards from the refinery be related to the occupational health hazards to those who will work there and how can workers and environmentalists work together for the safest possible facility?

-Tobacco: How harmful are arsenical pesticides on tobacco? Is the development of a "safe" cigarette possible? How feasible is the development of "safe" cigarettes? Does not the fact that many people in the South are employed in the tobacco industry indicate that we should put more effort into detoxifying cigarettes?

-Environmental Cancer Information: How does one interpret the National Cancer Institute's cancer maps? How can one obtain the backup data for the maps? Is it possible to involve local health officials in this issue and how to do so?

-Toxic Substances Control: What are the principles of the current legislation and how does it differ from the OSHAct, the Clean Air and Water Acts, etc. How can we assure that the Act, once passed, will be properly carried out? The field reentry standards for pesticides and the lack of manpower for the OSHAct inspection force came up as examples of improper implementation of good federal laws.

Much of the discussion started by direct questions on a specific problem. These questions in every case led to more questions and group discussion. I was very pleased with the quality of the discussion, as was everyone else whom I asked.

The following materials were distributed to all participants:

-"Environmental Update on Toxic Substances", 4 page fact sheet from the League of Women Voters Education Fund, Washington D.C., February 1976.

-"Toxic", reprint from the Sierra Club Bulletin, December 1975, 6 pages.

-"Legislative Alert on the Toxic Substances Control Act" Environmental Action, March 1976, 2 pages.

-"Toxic Substances Control: Progress on a Priority Issue United Steelworkers of America, Washington, D.C. April 1976, 7 pages.

-"Bicentennial of Environmental Cancer" 4 page fact sheet, Rachel Carson Trust for the Living Environment, Washington, D.C., August 1975.

-"A History of Pesticides Legislation, 6 page fact sheet, Rachel Carson Trust for the Living Environment, Washington, D.C., August 1975.

-"Federal Activities in Regulating Selected High Volume Toxic Chemicals, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. Washington, D.C., 60 pages, March 1976.

-"Bibliography on the Epidemiology of Environmental Cancer", 2 page fact sheet, *

-"Popular Books on Occupational Health and Safety", 1 page, *

-"Federal Laws and Sections Thereof which govern Substances", 2 pages, *

-"Toxic Chemicals and Environmental Cancer", 20 page booklet with scientific references, *

* Each of these documents was prepared especially for the Black Lake Conference by the Urban Environment Conference. All are dated May 1976.

The workshop was called again for Wednesday afternoon but only two people came. We briefly discussed the statement on the Toxic Substances Control Act which I later read in the closing session. The statement was also discussed at a session on Monday night which we called something to the effect of "Caucus on Worker and Community Health".

Summary by George Coling

15. The Politics of Recycling
"The environmental and employment impacts of recycling and the use of waste materials."
Convenor: Sol Baltimore, American Lung Assoc.
Resource: Ted Novak, United Steelworkers, District 29
Marchant Wentworth. Environmental Action Foundation

Talking with unions about container legislation has always been difficult. Talking with the United Steelworkers about container legislation has been impossible. Yet in a workshop convened at the UAW Family Education Center at Black Lake, Michigan, a dialogue was established between environmentalist and representatives of the Michigan United Steelworkers. The workshop was billed as the "Politics of Recycling" but everyone knew that container legislation would be the real topic of debate. There had rarely been public rational discussion between these divergent groups and people gathered expecting the worst.

The workshop was convened by Sol Baltimore of the American Lung Association of Southeastern Michigan. Sol set the ground rules for the workshop and introduced the other resource people at the workshop: Ted Novak, District 29 of the United Steelworkers and Marchant Wentworth, of Environmental Action Foundation. Each side presented their views in a quick five minute summary and then the discussion was open to questions from the other workshop participants. Ted Novak led off, showing a short film put out by American Can extolling the virtues of recycling and resource recovery. After the film, Ted continued to discuss the advantages of resource recovery in dealing with solid waste problems. Ted went on to discuss what he felt would be the harmful impact of container legislation on steelworker's jobs. Various job statistics were bandied about and facts and figures bobbed up and down. Which jobs would be lost? Where? Who would gain jobs? What kind? There were no answers for these questions.

The environmentalist then spoke--talking about the problems with resource recovery and recycling and stating

the advantages that he felt a refillable container system would have in terms of net materials and energy savings.

Yet the steelworkers would hear none of it. Sixty thousand jobs would be lost if container legislation was enacted, the workers said. Later, they stated that fifty thousand might go without work because of this legislation. The figures kept changing, the explanations for those figures got hazier, until it became evident that the studies and figures all were irrelevant to the steelworkers--to them it all was a question of a job and money or no job and unemployment. Voices got louder and more and more personal horror stories cropped up describing litter on beaches and people out of work. The discussion finally settled down and people did make an attempt to find some common ground.

In spite of the fact that no new information arose from the discussions, valuable insights were gained, new viewpoints shaped, and a new human side was brought to the issue. Numerous discussions and meetings followed this initial stormy workshop. Common ground was established and a dialogue was started.

Summary by Marchant Wentworth

16. Transportation and Our Cities

"The relationship of transportation policies to employment and the revitalization of our cities."
Convenor: Paul Schrodt, Ecology Center of Ann Arbor
Resource: Lydia Fischer, Research Dept. UAW
John P. Hammond, Vice President, Ecology Center of Louisiana

This workshop polled its participants on five questions:

1. your name and organization
2. what are you doing about transportation?
3. who are your allies?
4. who do you see as benefiting from what you do?
5. what personal/organizational skills and resources could you share?

Question #4 was designed to provoke discussion. It did! We talked about the issue of displacing unwanted roads from affluent neighborhoods to low income neighborhoods.

Two gatherings grew out of the workshop: (1) a dinner meeting to talk about freeway fighting and the future of the Highway Trust Fund; (2) a workshop on converting aerospace plants to mass transit vehicle production.

Responses to these five questions are given below:

Who: Marcy Benstock, NYC Clean Air Campaign
What Working On: Shifting transportation plans and spending priorities away from cars, trucks, highways in favor of mass transit, rail freight and housing rehabilitation; fighting to get west side Interstate Highway funds transferred to mass transit.
Allies: Community groups and, after communities organize, politicians in areas affected; environmental groups.
Who Benefit: Elderly people without cars, low-cost housing and low-rent businesses to be demolished or driven out by real estate speculation, neighborhoods, and people who prefer energy conservation in transportation to massive new energy development; health, etc.
Skills/Resources: Info and fact sheets on laws and government procedures, who benefits, etc.

Ron Castaldi, Department of HEW, Office of Environmental Education
Work focuses on overall environmental education.
Participants in both formal and non-formal educational programs.
Resources: Funded projects (at various levels) in proposed form as well as final products.

Name: Roger Colton, Iowa Student Public Interest Research Group (ISPIRG)
Work: A. Opposition to expansion of Lockand Dam #26 near Alton, Illinois
B. Two 4(f) questions with highways involving stantory construction of 4(f)
C. An inter-city freeway opposition
Beneficiaries:
A. Railroads, non-river shippers

B. Everyone
C. Local citizens

Skills:

1. Legal research and litigation
2. Lobbying
3. Rhetoritician
4. Environmental Impact Assessment Analysis

Allies:

Depends entirely on issue. Environmental Association Notebook Series.

Hiawatha Davis Jr, Eastside Action Movement

1. We work on most problems through community organization from the point of view of low-income people.
2. Our allies vary from historical preservationists to public representatives, and particularly our low-income and minority constituents.
3. Poor people in particular, and urban people in general.
4. We have had some involvement in air traffic problems, truck routing, RTD, and to a limited degree railroad alignments.

Cushing Dolbeare, Consultant on housing policies and programs
What: Primarily rural and low income housing. Farmworkers.
Allies: Generally national organizations--"the liberal establishment", some locally based groups.
Beneficiaries: Actually, very few. Theoretically, people who need decent, less expensive housing.
Skills, resources: a) a public interest lobbying connection. b) an informal communications network.

Beverly Dolinsky, Acting Director, Institute for Public Transportation
IPT is a private, non-profit organization located in N. Y. C. IPT is dedicated to the improvement of transportation (people and goods) and the environment. Because of our private, non-profit status, we are not allowed to lobby. We have joined with other environmental groups in the fight against highways, higher fares, etc. We believe in better land use planning. The bulk of our work is in the tri-state area (NY, NJ, CN).

Presently we are under contract to the New York State Department of Transportation to do a study on the consolidation of specialized transportation services. By specialized we mean the elderly, handicapped, emotionally disturbed, economically disadvantaged and rural.

In general our allies are environmentalists. We do have other allies contingent on the specific issues, i. e. many labor unions in the fight against the fare increase.

The public in general benefits from what we do.

Our office and literature are open to the public for anyone to use. We hold forums on transportation issues about six times a year, free and open to the public.

Lydia Fischer, Research Department UAW
Transportation, Urban blight

John Hammond, VP, Ecology Center Florida
Working to halt construction of I-410 and to transfer the funds to mass transit.
We work with commercial fishing interests, inner city groups, hunting preservation organizations, and other environmental groups.

Susan B. Nelson, President, Friends Santa Monica Mountains, Parks and Seashore
Transportation Interests:

1. Linking mass transportation with existing transportation and community interface
2. Recreation transportation--take city people to parks and coast.
3. National Park--use national park service for recreational transportation.

Paul Schrodt, Ecology Center of Ann Arbor (Michigan)
What: The Center is a non-profit education and action group. We work on community issues with transportation issues a high priority. Specific issues:

1. Fighting road widenings in residential neighborhoods
2. Getting more public transportation rides for the $ and lower fares for low-income people
3. Changing county land use patterns to improve the feasibility of wide-scale public transit use

Allies: Neighborhood groups, other environmental groups, senior citizens, low-income organizations (on fare

Beneficiaries: Older neighborhoods, people without cars, people who don t want to spend more $ on roads.
Resources: Experience with local transportation planning process; research, publicity, mobilizing skills.

Mary Ann Wilner, Environmental Action Foundation, Washington, D. C.
The Foundation is the non-profit, educational arm of Environmental Action, a Washington lobby group.
Transportation projects include:

- -information about federal transportation policy
- -B1 bomber/peace conversion
- -possibilities for re-tooling aerospace plants for mass transit vehicle production

Dennis R. Winters. President, Indiana Division, Izaak Walton League of America, Inc.
What: Fort Wayne, Indiana and State transportation issues. For about five years we have been attempting to bring about rational transportation policies within a local area and state notorious for its proclivity for cementing corn fields. While Indiana had more miles of Interstate highway/capita than any other state in 1973 and now ranks as the first to have either constructed or have under contract all of its Interstate allotment.

We have also been active at the local level trying to slow and reverse a propensity for building "bypasses" that only serve as economic development improvements that foreclose on the future of the central city, consume enormous amounts of ag land and defile the clear air of wide-open midwestern farmlands.

Allies: Our allies have been neighborhood groups, individually unfortunately, other environmental groups and in the case of the Wabash Barge Canal, midwestern railroads.

Resources: Our principal resource is a desire and involvement in urban environment and transportation policy areas.

17. Food Policies
"Policies on food production and distribution. Food quality--additives, pesticides, growing your own."
Convenor: Diane MacMahon, National Council of Senior Citizens
Resource: Victor Ray, National Farmers Union
Beverly Leopold, Food Specialist, Michigan Legal Services

In order to assure food abundance to the people of this nation, and to those who are dependent on us around the world, the business of agriculture must be stabilized. A "boom and bust" agricultural economy is a sure route to scarcity. The world does not now produce enough food, and our ability to produce more--at least at today's prices--is seriously in doubt.

How can we stabilize food production in the U.S. ? .Four basic programs are necessary. All have been tried. They are workable.

1. Farm prices must be fair to the farmer. We must halt bankruptcies and the migration of farm families to cities. Federal law spells out "fair prices". The law says that farm prices must relate to the costs of production. The fairness of farm prices is measured in the "parity formula". The law says the goal of our agricultural policy is "full parity" or "100 percent of parity" for the farmer. Unfortunately, the law has been ignored.

2. Farm prices are extremely volatile because demand is stable, both production is unpredictable. No farmer can tell how much he will produce when he plants the seed. Prices fall disastrously in the face of a slight oversupply. They rise steeply when there is only a slight undersupply. Only a floor under farm prices will assure abundant production and head off shortages and high prices to consumers. The way to put a floor under farm prices is well known. The device is a system of commodity loans that makes it possible for farmers to hold onto their commodities when prices are too low. The Farmers Union believes the loan level should be 90 percent of parity. (Loan levels today are less than 50 percent of parity.) A 90 percent of parity loan level doesn't guarantee the farmer a profit, but only keeps him from going broke. We think it should be adequate though because the last time farmers had prices in the vicinity of 100 percent of parity, the loan level was 90 percent of parity. Production was stable. Marketing was orderly. And the cost to the government was modest.

3. Both farmers and consumers need to be protected against the unpredictability of production. Other businesses with similar uncertainties use a system of "reserves" to achieve stability. Banks and insurance companies are examples. Why not have food reserves? They would protect farmers from falling prices when they over-produce. They would protect consumers from shortages and high prices when Farmers underproduce.

4. More than one-fourth of American agricultural production is sold overseas. Two-thirds of our wheat goes to foreign buyers. On the other hand, the U.S. buys many agricultural commodities from other countries.

Trade must be regularized and stabilized under international commodity agreements, or treaties. We use treaties to stabilize many aspects of our relations with other countries. Why not food commodities? (The U.S. has been asking for such a treaty for oil.) Countries that buy our food products should know how much they should get, and at what prices. We propose that they be assured of specific amounts at prices between 90 and 110 percent of parity.

Summary by Victor Ray

Policy Issues in Food Programs

Rules and regulations which govern food distribution programs are formulated by the United States Department of Agriculture, and reflect Administration policy. The statutes which establish the programs reflect Congressional policy, but because they are usually written in very general language, Administration policy is often the dominant one. Administration policy may be clearly in conflict with Congressional intent but unless there is a significant degree of legal intervention, at both the state and Federal level, Administration rules can subvert the aims of Congress as they directly control participation and benefit levels. However, when a program becomes highly controversial or is made a political issue as is the current case with the Food Stamp Program Congress will enact legislation with very specific provisions which reflect its intent on participation and benefits --little will be left to be decided by USDA through the regulatory process.

The policy conflict which has existed in the past in the Food Stamp Program, however, appears to be disappearing as one position is slowly being forged. Over the past year the Administration's cutback policy has been highly articulated by such pronouncements as Treasury Secretary Simon's "The program is a haven for chiselers." Between highly publicized Administration interpretations of "abuses" in the program and the "You too can get food stamps even if you're making $16,000 a year" advertisements placed in Sunday Magazine sections by enterprising operations which will forward a "how to" book for $3, public opinion has been influenced to think of food stamps as a ripoff program, and Congress appears to be acting on what members perceive to be the taxpaying public view of the program. Thus, a circular process has been set up which may effect a Congressional policy, as it enacts a new food stamp statute, very similar to Administration policy which is reflected in USDA regulations presently in motion to significantly cut back the program, even as they end run Congress in its current deliberations on reform.

Decisions on policy issues are critical not only because they determine participation and benefit levels in assistance programs, but more importantly, because the ceilings which are established affect how the average citizen views current social and economic reality. If all reasonably poor Americans were participating in the food stamp program (30-40 million), perhaps a more realistic discussion of unemployment rates, wage scales, numbers of full time workers under the poverty level, etc., would ensue. If all persons under the official poverty level ($5,500 annually for 4 persons) were to receive the nutrition assistance which they need through the food stamp program, the number of participants would jump from 18.5 million to 30 million. This 66% increase would push up federal dollar costs from $5.8 billion annually to approximately $9 billion, if only the 12 million Americans under the poverty line who are eligible and not currently participating came into the program--the increase would be significantly more if all marginal Americans, those under 125% of the poverty level and at serious nutritional risk, were brought in.

Policy decisions currently being made by Congress, and the way in which food distribution issues ultimately get framed by the media, impact significantly on the American public's understanding of the degree of hunger and malnutrition in the country. The American people have had considerable exposure to the "chiseling" in the program, and not to the tremendous need for nutrition assistance. With these understandings it is unrealistic to expect they can or will support a federal shift in priorities which would expand the program to bring in all needy persons and supply them an additional .22¢ per meal for food -- the current average food stamp benefit.

Policy questions currently not under public debate or scrutiny go to entities which will be positively or negatively affected by an expansion or reduction in the program: welfare poor persons, working poor persons, farmers, food distribution systems (presently food stamps account for 5% of total expenditures for food at home), other suppliers of goods and services (food stamps free up a percentage of participants' income for other essential goods), Federal Government expenditures (benefit--bonus--dollars), State Government expenditures (50% of program administration costs), private charitable agencies (demand on charity dollar increases as public benefits decrease), and state and local economies (Michigan will lose $230 annually in business activity and 4,000 jobs if the program is cut back 30%.)

Summary by Beverly Leopold

18. Jobs from Clean Water
"The job possibilities created through the requirements of the 1972 Water Quality Act. The release and use of federal funds for the building of pollution control systems."
Convenor: Lee Botts, Environmental Protection Agency
Resource: Stan Arnold, Director, Michigan Building Trades Council
Lee Daneker, Washington Director,
Clean Water Action Project
Khris Hall, Natural Resources Defense Council

Discussion in this workshop focused on the need for local citizen participation in watchdogging the planning and construction of sewage treatment facilities under PL 92-500 (the 1972 water pollution control act). From participation, the citizens will gain understanding of the reasons for the planning provisions which are intended to assure use of the most cost effective and least environmentally damaging means of providing for wastewater treatment. Representatives of the Environmental Protection Agency, Region V, citizen groups, and construction trades unions agreed to seek means for promoting more citizen participation in the construction grant program immediately. Such participation is also expected to result in more involvement in coming debate in Congress on changes in public policy for water pollution control by both environmentalists and labor unions.

Summary by Lee Botts

19. Raising Funds for Local Organizations
"How to create a fund raising plan. Basic do's and don'ts. An introduction to ad books, carnivals, canvassing, direct mailing, foundation grants."
Convenor: Patty Cherry, Consumers Federation of America
Resource: Heather Booth, Director, Midwest Academy
Peter Harnik, Coordinator, Environmental Action

Patty Cherry led a session on fund raising for which Heather Booth and I were resource people. The session was attended by about ten people, mostly environmentalists and community group people. I later repeated the session for six more people.

We discussed mailings, parties, ad books, list building, petitions, door-to-door activites. We stressed finding fund raising issues that related to the constituency being sought. We also talked about keeping previous donors and making them part of the whole political and funding effort.

Afterwards, we talked about specific groups' needs and problems and strategized about special circumstances, such as precipitous funding cut-offs, foundation requirements, loans, etc.

Summary by Peter Harnik

Included general principles of fundraising, including the need for a long-term fundraising strategy that draws from a number of different sources and compliments the organization's program. Specific techniques covered include fundraising events, such as benefits and carnivals, and other techniques with high membership involvement, such as ad books.

Summary by Heather Booth

20. Organizing for Direct Action
"An introduction to the principals and techniques of mass participation organizing."
Convenor: Deloras Knight, Chairperson, Florida State UAW CAP Council
Resource: Heather Booth, Director, Midwest Academy

Included the historical and present political context of our efforts to win social change. Outlined three points that are key to organizing campaigns.

1. Campaigns should be waged by people organizing on their own behalf to win change. They should know that their gains are by their own efforts and feel a sense of their own power.
2. Campaigns should win concrete improvements in people's lives.
3. Campaigns should begin to alter the relations of power.

Included how to plan a strategy that accomplishes these three goals.

Summary by Heather Booth

21. Using the Media
"Working with the media--press, radio, and TV--
for environmental and employment causes."
Convenor: Robin Tawney, Northern Rockies Action Group
Resource: Barbara Clark, Michigan Student Environmental Confederation
Barbara Newman, Investigative Reporter, National Public Radio

Environmentalists and labor people have sharply contrasting views toward the press, radio and television, participants in the workshop on "Using the Media" learned. While environmentalists attending the workshop discussed ways to get the media's attention, unionists talked about how they often avoid the media at all cost.

Environmentalists talked over how to plan press conferences, how to be timely, how to establish themselves as sources the media would seek out on relative stories. Resource person Barbara Clark of the Michigan Student Environmental Confederation offered tips for getting information to the media: write regular press releases and hand-carry them to local media, send the media organizational newsletters with appropriate articles marked and meet press deadlines. Staging pseudo-events, demonstrations designed specifically to attract the media, also was suggested as one way of getting out messages.

A few workshop participants including Barbara Newman, investigative reporter for National Public Radio, had worked for radio or television and explained what broadcasters and telecasters look for in a story: Does the picture "wiggle," that is, does it move for the camera: Is the story a simple one that can be told in a matter of seconds or one or two minutes? Will it take too much time to shoot or tape? Will it be something of interest to viewers or listeners?

Labor unions have well established techniques for dealing with the media and are viewed as credible, preferred sources for labor news. Yet unionists participating in this workshop distrusted the media because many times their remarks had been misconstrued and taken out of context. They felt that in many cases they thought they had clearly stated their positions only to find the media later misinterpreted them. This so aggravated a few of the union people present that they no longer grant interviews; they cited several incidences when they had gone out of their ways to avoid the media in lieu of having their comments distorted. They felt there was little hope in making their viewpoints clearly known, but expressed interest in work by the Public Media Center in designing public service announcements (PSA's) to offset some of the misconceptions created by the media and corporate advertising.

The treatment of both labor and environmental news, some participants said, was slanted according to the biases of reporters, editors, producers and media executives. Newman admitted she has biases but said she makes an effort to overcome them in her reporting. She told of one instance when she spliced a taped conversation to cover up the speech impediment of the person she was interviewing.

Newman said, like other reporters, she is always looking for a good story and to call her if any come up.

Summary by Robin Tawney

MICHAEL McCLOSKEY, Executive Director, Sierra Club

BUNYON BRYANT, School of Natural Resources, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

It's most appropriate that the Executive Director of the Sierra Club be the opening speaker of this session. The Sierra Club in 1971 had the foresight even then to understand that "compliance with environmental protection" in the years ahead would create conflict between organizations such as we have assembled here at this conference. The Sierra Club Bulletin ran an editorial alerting their membership then to the need for protection of workers who might be displaced due to environmental control requirements and the Sierra Club Foundation provided grant monies to the Urban Environment Conference to study this problem and publicize their findings. These actions contributed greatly to Congressional passage in late 1972 of a bill providing economic benefits to displaced workers. Although the bill was subsequently vetoed after Congress had adjourned, this initiative provided by the Sierra Club leadership certainly well qualifies our speaker to keynote this session. Mike McCloskey.

MICHAEL McCLOSKEY, Executive Director, Sierra Club

Today we are being asked to ponder the meaning of what is happening to environmentalists and labor in the Mahoning Valley of Ohio. There the EPA has decided to dispense with national standards for curbing water pollution by eight steel mills because of the fear that the plants would quit business rather than put in proper control equipment. The EPA fears that if it forces compliance in the Mahoning Valley, the numbers of workers in the nation to be displaced by pollution controls would double. Labor fears that 20,000 or more workers would be displaced there. Environmentalists fear that an exception here will provide an opening for an endless chain of exceptions everytime the shoe pinches.

Lawyers have a saying that "hard cases make bad law." This is surely the hardest of hard cases in terms of positioning two basic needs - jobs and a healthful environment - at cross purposes. As a case example, it can be hopeful if we can find any suggestions in it at all for better approaches in the future. But we should not let it depress us into thinking it is a typical case or is characteristic of what is ahead. It is likely to be the worst case we will ever confront. And in fact this is the EPA's conclusion.

The challenge before us is how to reconcile four basic goals we should all share:

1. to keep our work force fully and regularly employed;
2. to meet national goals for pollution clean-up;
3. to find the financial means to install the needed clean-up equipment; and
4. to accomplish these objectives under a regulatory system which pursues its statutory purposes with fairness, consistency, and predictability.

In meeting this challenge, we face a host of questions. I would like to introduce this session by setting forth those that are on my mind, and perhaps our discussants will choose to address some of them, and more of their own choosing.

1. How bad is the pollution in the Mahoning River, and what are the adverse effects of it? Particularly, what is known about the health effects of the toxic substances in it upon those who must drink its water in places like Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania?
2. Has any progress been made over the years in cleaning up the river? When were the steel mills first put on notice that they had to clean-up? What has been done since then? What percentage of the total needed investment have they made?
3. Have the eight mills been assuming they never would have to make the needed investment? What are the real figures on those amounts? Should the costs of controls be viewed from the standpoint of the mills' financial condition standing alone, or as they are actually integrated into total company operations? Should one view the companies' ability to carry these investments in terms of past profitability in the poor years of 1970-'73, or the average for the decade 1964-1974, or the fantastic year of 1974, or the disastrous year of 1975?
4. What does the future hold for these plants? How obsolete are they? If nothing is done to curb their water pollution, have they many years left anyway? What planning is being done to face the fact that plants built at the turn of the century won't last forever?

5. How much economic dependence is involved? How many full-time continuing jobs are really involved here? Will the employment they provide tend to decline anyway as some of the plants are only operated intermittently? What are the projections for declining employment as these plants phase down and out? Can we find a way to rehire the worker who is displaced in Youngstown in a new plant elsewhere at similar wages and benefits and senority. Can we join together to pass legislation to require this?

6. How much employment would be provided elsewhere as the tonnage of steel lost from declining plants in the Mahoning Valley is produced elsewhere? What policy attitudes should we have toward shifting patterns of regional employment? Are there reasons to view shifts caused by pollution controls in a different light than shifts caused by obsolescence or market conditions? Can we view them consistently?

7. When plants don't have to clean-up, who is hurt? Who continues to drink dirty, debilitating water? Who will get cancer as a result? How many jobs in manufacturing and operating pollution controls are lost? How many of the 30,000 jobs of this type that might have been provided by controlling pollution in the steel industry may be lost if schedules and standards start unraveling? What about the workers in modern steel plants which do control their pollution? Will they work less if older plants capture sales away from new plants because they got away without paying for pollution controls?

8. How can we plan together to prevent impasses of this sort in the future? Can we afford to sit by passively while events drift toward the worst possible conflicts? Is the EPA's decision the only way to protect labor in this case? Can jobs be continued in any other way? Is there any way for environmentalists and labor to find a better way to deal with this situation, and to make sure we don't have anymore of them?

I am probably asking too much of our discussants in posing so many tough questions. No one is likely to have all the answers. But finding answers begins with raising questions. I hope we can begin the process today of finding ways for labor and environmentalists to participate in the process of deciding how to answer such questions.

The process cannot remain the solely-owned property of recalcitrant companies and a faceless bureaucracy.

CASE STUDY: "The Mahoning River Valley"

The Mahoning River Valley in northeastern Ohio is the site of a current confrontation between environmentalists, labor unions, the Environmental Protection Agency, local planning development groups, and portions of the iron and steel industry. Steel mills have long been major contributors to the valley's economic well-being and to the pollution of its air and water. Issues of air and water pollution, environmental blackmail, job losses, pollution laws, and economic development merge into another classic and complex case of "jobs or environment?".

The nationwide effluent guidelines for the iron and steel industry were published March 29, 1976[3]. Under the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, all industries must use the "best practicable technology" (BPT) to clean up water by 1977, and the "best available technology" (BAT) by 1983. In the case of the Mahoning Valley iron and steel industry, an exception to the national standards was granted by the EPA. As a result, the Mahoning Valley BPT is the same as currently practiced in that region -- that being inadequate compared to industry-wide standards. The BAT for the region is still to be met by 1983.

The EPA decision was based on data supplied by the steel companies operating in the Mahoning Valley region (U.S. Steel, Republic Steel, Youngstown Sheet and Tube). Another steel company, Copperweld, was not included in the economic analysis. In the EPA's words:[3]

> "Tentative analysis of the available data leads to the conclusion that conditions in the Mahoning River Valley Region are unique with respect to the physical and geographical characteristics of the region, physical and operating characteristics of the facilities located therein, and the importance of the facilities to the economy of the region. Tentative analysis of the available data and the consultant's evaluation thereof appears to support the contention that mandatory compliance with effluent guidelines which do not take into account these factors is likely to result in severe economic dislocation within the Mahoning River Valley Region."

The EPA decision has evoked criticism from a number of interest groups. Providing formal relief for the Mahoning Valley establishes a possible precedent for future exceptions to the Water Act. Both the Sierra Club and the American Iron and Steel Institute (AISI) are planning separate suits against the EPA over this issue. The Sierra Club is saying the EPA does not have legal grounds to grant the exception, and the AISI saying the EPA can only assign range (industry-wide) standards and not point standards, as it has done in the valley.

Other industries, the paper industry, for example, are considering requests for exceptions to the Water Act. The Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources is concerned that Wisconsin paper mills will sue for an exception on the basis of the relief given the steel industry in the Mahoning Valley.

The United Steelworkers of America-District 26, in the Mahoning Valley region is primarily concerned with the effects any EPA decision or court action would have on jobs and the economic welfare of the Valley's communities. It supports the EPA's decision to grant the exception to the Mahoning Valley steel plants. They feel that the river has been polluted for a long time and that it would remain dirty even if the water pollution were halted.

The Lake Michigan Federation objected in an April 7, 1976 letter to Russell E. Train, chief Administrator for the EPA. In it the Federation pointed out the potential of the Mahoning exception to create adverse economic impacts on labor forces located in other portions of the U.S. They also took the EPA to task for not supporting the congressional intent of the 1972 Water Act (no relaxations of limitations for solely economic reasons) and the EPA's interpretations of parts of the Act related to pollution levels and granting exceptions.

The Western Reserve Economic Development Agency (WREDA) filed a formal request to the EPA in September, 1974. In it the Commerce Department-supported organization asked for amendments to the original iron and steel industry guidelines, and asked for time to develop transportation and blast-furnace studies to improve the industry's economic well-being.

Another interest group is the Eastgate Development and Transportation Agency (EDATA). EDATA is engaged in planning for water standards and facilities and has a general policy board representative of the four county Mahoning Valley and eastern Ohio region. It is a general area-wide planning agency and appears to be attempting to fill the information gap between the public and the decision-making parties in the valley.

The Mahoning River is an Ohio-Pennsylvania interstate stream originating in northeast Ohio and flowing 96 miles in a general southeasterly direction through Warren and Youngstown before crossing the Pennsylvania state line near Lowellville, Ohio. The river flows another 12 miles in Pennsylvania prior to converging with the Shenango River to form the Beaver River, a tributary of the Ohio River[1].

Steel production is the largest single factor in the economy of the Mahoning Valley. In terms of jobs and payroll, the steel industry employs more people and provides more wages than any other industry in the two county region. In 1973, the last year for which data are available, the industry accounted for approximately 15% of total employment (27,000 jobs) and 20% of the total payroll ($80 million).

The Mahoning River has been used as an industrial waste stream since major industrialization of the region before the turn of the century. The steel mills operated by U.S. Steel Corporation, Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, and Republic Steel Corporation continue to be the major polluters. Representatives of these companies declined invitations to attend the case study portion of the conference. One, Henry Hopewood of Republic Steel, said he did not want to come because of Sierra Club and National Resource Defense Council (NRDC) litigations concerning the steel industry and the Mahoning Valley. Other industries in the valley (auto assembly, appliance manufacturing, and metal fabricating) are less significant polluters[2].

While the lower Mahoning is used only as an industrial water supply in Ohio, the town of Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, 27 miles from the Ohio-Pennsylvania border, uses the Beaver River for drinking water[1].

Environmental issues have been debated in the Mahoning Valley since the mid-1960's. Air pollution standards are greatly exceeded and most applicable air pollution limits are being violated by the steel mills. Nonetheless, water pollution controls have become the foremost economic concern being expressed by both firms and local communities (Youngstown, Warren and Niles). Initially, opposition was directed to the Ohio water quality standards. In late 1974, when Ohio planned to rescind the existing water quality standards and replace them with less stringent standards, opposition shifted to the nationwide effluent guidelines for the steel industry which had been proposed by the EPA[2].

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1. 3 Mar. '76 draft copy of "Preface" to Economic Impact of Pollution Control Regulations on Steel Plants in the Mahoning Valley.

2. 30 Jan. '76 draft copy of "Mahoning Valley Relief Options" EPA to Administrator Train.

3. 29 Mar. '76 "Effluent Guidelines: [illegible]on and Steel Industries" Federal Register Vol. 41, No. 61 pp 129990-130014.

ALVIN ALM, Assistant Administrator, Planning and Management, Environmental Protection Agency

MIKE McCLOSKEY, Executive Director, Sierra Club

We do have the other parties, all of the parties hopefully, here today to address the question specifically. There's no better place to begin than with the agency that made the decision, the Environmental Protection Agency. Representing them here today is Alvin Alm who has been with them for two and one-half years. Before that he was with the Council on Environmental Quality for three and one-half years. He is their Assistant Administrator for Planning and Management. Mr. Alm.

ALVIN ALM, Assistant Administrator, Planning and Management, Environmental Protection Agency.

It is a pleasure for me to be here in Onaway to talk with you today. I think that today's case study on the Mahoning Valley steel firms is an excellent example to discuss in that it shows graphically the difficulty and complexity involved when two things we value very highly--jobs and environmental improvement--come into direct conflict.

Unfortunately, the Mahoning Valley steel case is a very bad example to use from another point of view. That is, it is extremely atypical to see jobs and environmental improvement so directly in conflict where the stakes are so high. In the Mahoning Valley situation roughly 27,000 employees are employed directly in steel-making operations. To put that number in perspective let me point out that since January 1971 EPA has only learned of about 16,500 jobs lost in all plant shutdowns and production curtailments involving 25 or more employees which the companies alleged resulted from Federal, State, or local environmental laws. That means that the number of jobs involved in the Mahoning situation is about 150% of the total alleged by employers to be affected nationwide in the last five years. We do not expect to confront any other potential employment impact of that magnitude in the future.

Not only is the Mahoning situation atypical with respect to the number of jobs possibly affected; but concentrating on it is also misleading in that it leaves the impression that environmental and employment goals are directly at loggerheads when really there is not as much conflict between the two as this case would indicate. As many of you may have heard in workshops this morning, the environmental program is creating more jobs now than it is costing. Chase Econometrics Associates, an economic forecasting firm associated with the Chase Manhattan Bank, forecast last year that the unemployment rate would be 0.4% lower this year than it would have been without pollution control expenditures (although at the end of the decade unemployment will be 0.4% higher than it would have been otherwise).

Furthermore, in contrast to the 16,000 jobs said by employers to be lost due to pollution control nationwide over the last five years, more than 100,000 jobs currently exist due to the Federal program for construction of municipal sewage treatment plants. And an Arthur D. Little, Inc. study projected that 75,000 jobs would be created manufacturing pollution control equipment as a result of Federal air and water pollution legislation of this decade. Finally, although some industry spokesmen might have you think otherwise, EPA considers employment effects carefully to the extent allowed by the governing legislation in formulating regulations. This is vitally important, for we are not so naive as to think that an increase in jobs in building, installing, and operating pollution control equipment can compensate for the disruption and hardship caused by jobs lost in industries affected by environmental regulations. We are increasingly concerned that job impacts be minimized; and there are a number of instances where potential impacts on jobs have caused us to adjust the regulations we were considering on a nationwide basis, just as we have done on a regional basis in the Mahoning situation.

In order to help you understand the Mahoning situation, I should describe the legislative and regulatory context for you. The issue arose initially as a result of EPA's development of regulations to control water pollution from the steel industry. These regulations, called effluent guidelines, are required by the Federal Water Pollution Control Act for each type of industrial water polluter. EPA has developed these effluent guidelines for about 60 major industries or segments of industries. For each type of industrial discharger, EPA must promulgate regulations for Best Practicable Control Technology which define the levels of control to be required by 1983.

As part of the development process for these standards for each industry, EPA has a technical and an economic study done, usually by an independent consulting firm with expertise relevant to the particular industry. The technical study describes the alternative levels of control which are feasible and assesses the costs of these controls. The economic study assesses the impacts of these costs on prices of the industry's products, produc-

tion levels, plant closings, employment effects, community effects, and where relevant effects on balance of trade and on users of the industry's products.

The economic study which was done as part of the effluent guideline development process for steel-making operations indicated a potential problem with impacts on the steel mills in the Mahoning Valley area of Ohio. We learned from the independent consulting firm (A. T. Kearney) that did the economic analysis that the Mahoning Valley contained a significant portion of the economically marginal steel mills which might be threatened by the regulation which was appropriate for the steel industry.

Unfortunately, because plant-level economic and financial data have been kept so confidential by the steel firms in this country, it was impossible for our consultants to perform an analysis which would show the likelihood of these plants closing. So that left us in the uncomfortable position of suspecting that there might be significant impacts on the Mahoning Valley region, but being unable to demonstrate whether or not such impacts would occur to the extent necessary to support and defend treating those steel mills any different than the other mills in the country.

At the same time we learned that the Western Reserve Economic Development Agency had commissioned a study by another consulting firm (Ernst and Ernst) of what the impacts on the region would be if the Mahoning mills shut down. That study concluded that the impacts would be severe because (1) 14% of the region's labor force is employed by the mills, (2) the area has had very high rates of unemployment in recent years, (3) a number of other people are employed as a result of local purchases by the steel firms and spending by the steel mill employees, and (4) the local tax revenues were dependent on $28 - 40 million in sales, property, and payroll taxes.

Wide interest in the EPA steel effluent guideline was generated in the community as a result of this study, and the mayors of the local communities and the Western Reserve Economic Development Agency expressed their concerns to EPA. The western Reserve study accentuated EPA concerns that if the steel firms were to decide on economic grounds to close all or a significant portion of their Mahoning operations then very significant unemployment could result in the region.

Consequently, concerned about the potential impact but unable to show whether large impacts would occur to the extent needed to defend an exception for the Mahoning mills, EPA promulgated regulations for the nationwide steel industry with no such exception. But we said in the preamble to our formal regulations that we would undertake a special study of the effects of the regulations on the Youngstown-Warren area and that we would consider promulgating separate regulations for the Mahoning steel mills if the firms were able to provide evidence that convinced us that significant impacts were likely if the nationwide regulations were applied to the Mahoning plants. In the entire program of developing effluent guidelines for about 60 industries or segments of industries, this is the only instance in which such a provision was made.

The detailed study of the effects of the national steel effluent guidelines was initiated in the late summer and early fall of 1974. Since the firms' decisions on whether to continue their Mahoning operations involved decisions not only about water pollution control investments, but also about air pollution control investments required by the State of Ohio under the Clean Air Act, our study was designed to look at the effect of making the required air and water pollution control investments on the profitability of each of the Mahoning steel mills.

EPA hired three consulting firms to assist us with the technical and financial portions of the studies: Battelle Columbus Laboratories to review the costs of air pollution control, Rice Division of NUS Corporation to review the costs of water pollution control, and Booz, Allen, and Hamilton, Inc. to assess the financial impact of the expenditures.

The firms were required to submit detailed estimates of pollution control costs for their plants and detailed financial projections showing what the effect of these costs would be on profitability. Our contractors visited each plant and obtained a great deal more information in an effort to verify or adjust the company submissions. EPA staff worked closely with the contractors, and separately a number of questions were investigated regarding the environmental effects related to the Mahoning mills.

The environmental factors involved in this review were important, because the Mahoning Valley area has significant air and water pollution problems. The health-protective ambient air quality standards for both sulfur oxides and particulates were exceeded in 1975, with annual average particulate levels ranging up to almost double the allowable limit at one location.

The water quality of the Mahoning River is very poor, with water quality standards for dissolved oxygen, cyanide, phenols, ammonia, and temperature exceeded by very wide margins. Cyanide and phenols are par-

ticularly harmful pollutants.

While the lower portion of the Mahoning River is used only as an industrial water supply, and not for recreation or drinking water, the river flows into the Beaver River in Pennsylvania; and the town of Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania; 27 miles from the Ohio-Pennsylvania border uses the Beaver River as a potable water supply.

The economic/financial portion of the study focused only on the plants operated by U.S. Steel, Youngstown Sheet Tube, and Republic Steel although it was originally intended to include Copperweld's facility as well. Copperweld withdrew early in the process, indicating their intention to comply with whatever regulations resulted, because the Copperweld facilities are very different from those of the other firms and the plant is much more profitable. The study concluded that these plants, compromising about 5% of the total U.S. capacity, are among the most marginal in the country. The plants are old, many dating to the turn of the century. Transportation costs are unusually high due to the unavailability of water-borne transportation and the movement of markets away from the region. The modernization of these facilities would be difficult because of insufficient space.

A major aspect of the economic study consisted of financial analyses of the plants before and after the imposition of pollution control costs would substantially degrade the already marginal profitability of these plants. Specifically, even under average conditions, the pollution control costs would result in negative cash flows for the facilities of all three firms. Even assuming the most optimistic market conditions for the firms, the Youngstown Sheet and Tube and the U.S. Steel facilities would still have negative cash flows.

Given this financial information, it is still difficult to forecast whether the steel companies would close their Mahoning operations rather than meet the industry-wide regulations. The firms could decide to invest in the equipment and continue operations for such non-financial reasons as maintaining good relations with their work forces and the States and communities involved, maintaining their current share of the market, or maintaining the flexibility to supply the special needs of customers purchasing steel from other plants of the same firm. Republic and Youngstown Sheet and Tube appear more likely than U.S. Steel to choose such an alternative because their Mahoning operations constitute about 25% and 45% of their production.

Though it is difficult to be certain what the companies would do if faced with the industry-wide requirements, EPA concluded that the risk was very high that large unemployment would occur if some relief were not granted.

That conclusion left EPA facing several issues in developing its regulatory approach to the decision. Since air and water pollution control requirements each would require about $150 million in capital spending for the three firms, one issue was whether air or water pollution requirements should be relaxed. We decided to grant relief only in the water area because the widespread violations of the health-related air standards were seen as immediately endangering public health in the area. EPA has no regulatory authority to relax these standards even if we wanted to.

Another issue involved what level of control should be required. The limiting factor here was the Pennsylvania water quality standards. Since the Pennsylvania standards protect the drinking water supply in Beaver Falls, this level of control seems mandatory even without considering any legal requirements. Hence, the Agency sought to insure that the level of control required would meet the Pennsylvania water quality standards by 1983.

Without going into all the complicating aspects of the decision process and the regulations, I would summarize the effect of the EPA decision in the face of all these issues as follows:

1. The Mahoning steel mills will not have to invest additional capital to meet the 1977 BPT water regulations, although they will be expected not to exceed current levels of discharge.

2. The industry-wide 1983 BAT requirement will apply to the Mahoning mills, but these mills will have the same opportunity as do all other dischargers to seek relief individually from the 1983 standards on the grounds that they are beyond the economic capability of the firms.

3. This relief from the 1983 water regulations cannot be more than the levels of control defined as necessary to meet Pennsylvania water quality standards, since the FWPCA variance provision requires that "reasonable further progress toward the elimination of the discharge of pollutants" be made. We see attainment of the water quality

standards (which protect the Beaver Falls drinking water supply) as being essential to "reasonable further progress." The discharge permits issued for these plants will contain "milestones" to monitor the progress of equipment installations to achieve the requirements by 1983.

4. There will be no relief from applicable air standards. These must be met to protect public health.

What does this decision mean in terms of the economic viability of the plants and the impact on the workers? The companies' control expenditures will be deferred until needed to meet the 1983 requirements. At that time the firms may save up to $30 - 60 million compared to the expenditures needed to meet the 1977 industry-wide requirements.

The deferral and possible savings will improve the chances of the plants staying open. It must be emphasized though that some of these plants are among the most marginal facilities in the country. Relief from environmental expenditures, even were it total relief, would not make these mills economically healthy in comparison with other newer, more efficient, more favorably located facilities. So it is not certain that these plants will all stay open now or in the future. We think though that the chances of continued operation are markedly improved as a result of our decision.

EPA announced its decision by informing the interested Congressional members and staff and by holding a press conference in Youngstown on March 10 of this year. The regulations were formally promulgated as Interim-Final Regulations in the Federal Register on March 29 as part of the regulations for portions of steel operations not covered by the previously promulgated regulations.

The reaction to the decision from the Youngstown community and its representatives has been favorable. The firms have given it guarded praise, saying that they need time to study the effects, but that it looks like a step in the right direction. Several Pennsylvania officials have expressed concern about impacts on Pennsylvania water quality. Some environmental spokesmen and Senator Muskie have expressed concerns that the decision may set an undesirable precedent which would enable other firms to delay compliance or reduce the stringency of environmental regulations. And undoubtedly we will get requests for similar relief, though I believe that the uniqueness of the Mahoning situation in terms of potential impacts involved is such that it is unlikely that other situations will provide equivalent justification for relief.

All in all, the Mahoning situation has been incredibly intricate, with numerous environmental, technical, economic, legal, institutional, and policy concerns constraining the outcome. In the end I believe EPA has managed to make a decision in this case which appropriately balances environmental concerns with potential employment impacts. I would remind you that, although this case shows the conflicts between environmental and employment goals quite starkly, it exaggerates the degree of conflict we typically encounter. I look forward to hearing the outcome of your discussions of what you would have done.

KHRIS HALL, Attorney and Co-Director, Clean Water Project, Natural Resources Defense Council

MIKE McCLOSKEY, Sierra Club

Thank you Mr. Sullivan. Now we are going to hear from one of the persons in the country who is most expert at dealing with problems of water pollution. She is Khris Hall, an attorney with the Natural Resources Defense Council which is one of the leading public interest firms in the field of the environment. She is the co-director of their project on clean water. Khris Hall.

KHRIS HALL, Attorney and Co-Director, Clean Water Project, Natural Resources Defense Council

I am going to react and reframe some of the issues that have been presented. I, of course, have a different perspective than the people who have gone before me.

We feel very strongly that the action that EPA has taken is unlawful. We feel that health considerations have not been fully taken into account. We feel the Mahoning Valley sets an unfortunate precedent for other possible exceptions. At the same time, it is important to keep in mind that in controversies and disputes of this nature, in this dispute and in others like it, when jobs and environment come into conflict or seem to come into conflict, the winner is always the big companies--U.S. Steel, Republic Steel, Youngstown. That bothers me, and I think it should bother everybody in this room.

To get to some of the issues: the point has been made that no health hazard exists. I don't think that's at all a fair comment. We don't know that there is or is not a health hazard because no studies have been done. EPA has been very weak on finding out what exactly water pollution does in terms of health problems. No study was done in this particular instance to find out what the results would be in terms of the drinking water in Pennsylvania.

A lot of people seem to be framing the issue in terms of fish or jobs, steel or eels. But it goes far beyond that into environmental health hazards. Iron and steel mills discharge an awful lot of toxic substances, to name a few: cyanide, phenols, mercury, lead, cadmium, chromium, arsenic, and zinc. It is true that we don't know if those discharges are now directly contributing to a health hazard, but that's because no one has bothered to find out. EPA spent most of its time in this whole controversy concentrating on economics without looking at the environment. I think that is a very unfortunate matter.

Another issue in this controversy is a more legal one. It concerns the framework of the Water Act, which mandates nationally uniform effluent limitations, for a category or sub-category of an industry. Congress made the decision in 1972 in passing the Water Act, on the basis of the past failure of Water Acts to control water pollutants, to require uniform levels of water pollution controls. It was done to prevent economic blackmail. If there are nationally uniform standards, a plant could not say to a state or to a community, "If you make us meet these standards, we are going to move some place else." If the standards are uniform, they can't avoid meeting the requirements some place else. The uniform standards were also thought to be a good idea by Congress to avoid competitive disadvantage. If one firm wants to install sophisticated pollution control equipment, it should not be put at an economic disadvantage by spending the money on doing it. Another very, very important consideration is enforcement. Nationally uniform standards are much easier to enforce. Before 1972, enforcement was based on water quality standards. Essentially, EPA's decision means going back to water quality standards as a basis for enforcement in the Mahoning Valley. That involves a lot of complicated arithmetic: figuring out the flow of the river, trying to trace back who is discharging what, a lot of bickering, a lot of conflict. It is a very hard and difficult situation. The nationally uniform standards would deal with that problem. For these reasons, Congress decided, and most environmentalists think wisely so, that nationally uniform standards are the way to go.

We are very concerned that the Mahoning exemption might set an unfortunate precedent by punching a loophole in the scheme of uniform limitations. Al has alluded to that problem somewhat. We are happy to see that EPA has, in writing, promised more or less that they will not give any more such exceptions. But we are not thoroughly convinced that a court, and this issue will go to court several times, will hold by the same standards.

Another issue that I would like to talk about is the question of profitability and corporate responsibility. The companies that are in the Mahoning Valley--U.S. Steel, Republic Steel, and Youngstown--are overall fairly healthy. They are planning expansion in other parts of the country. We've got the issue then of the plant in the Valley vs. the firm as a whole. The firm has been making money and investing it in other places. That is its own decision. They have been called on the carpet on water pollution issues for years. There are proceedings back in the '60's, '50's even, of trying to get the steel industry to do something about the pollution in the Mahoning Valley. They promised they would but they haven't. Instead, the steel companies have chosen to invest the

profits they are making elsewhere. I am disturbed because they are using their past lack of action as an excuse for no action right now. I think there ought to be some way to try to remedy that.

Lastly, I disagree with the tack that EPA has taken on this whole matter, but I am also disturbed that the economic studies that EPA has come up with do not show conclusively one way or the other that the relief they are granting is going to keep the steel companies open. It looks, for instance that U.S. Steel will probably go out of business one way or the other in the Mahoning Valley. It looks like Republic Steel will probably stay in business, one way or the other, in the Mahoning Valley. There is not the degree of certainty that should be demanded with this type of big exception.

MIKE McCLOSKEY, Sierra Club

Thank you Khris. We will conclude our panel by hearing from the representatives of the labor unions that are most affected, the United Steelworkers, particularly from the director of the district in the four-county area that includes the Mahoning Valley. Mr. Frank Leseganich is the District Director, and he has been for seven years. Incidentally, his district is the sixth largest in terms of membership throughout his union. He is joined at the table by a colleague, Arnold Barzak, who has worked at Republic Steel for twenty-one years and has been on their grievance committee for sixteen years. Mr. Leseganich.

FRANK LESEGANICH, Director, District 26, United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO

Good afternoon. My name is Frank Leseganich. I am Director of District 26, United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO. District 26 is a rather unique district in the steelworkers union as we are one of the smallest in area, yet one of the largest in population. I am proud to say that I represent 52,000 steelworkers, most of whom work in the Mahoning Valley in Warren and Youngstown, Ohio.

The United Steelworkers are proud of the record we have in fighting pollution. We have stood up against air pollution by the steel industry in Pittsburgh, Gary, Cleveland, Youngstown and Warren. We will continue to stand up against pollution wherever it affects the lives and health of our members.

The Mahoning River is a different situation entirely. For many years we fought for the establishment of a canal between Lake Erie and the Ohio River. There is a 17-mile section of the river between Warren and Youngstown which is used by eight steel mills. Over the years we have not been afraid to use the hammer at the bargaining table to make sure that the industries polluting the Mahoning River worked toward its eventual clean-up.

The question asked today is: "Can the Mahoning River support Life?" The answer to that question is "YES" it does support life. It supports the life of 29,000 men and their families. The very men who have put up with the hardship, the dirty air and dirty water for the longest time. Cleaning up the Mahoning River is a very complex problem.

You really have to go down to the river to see it for yourself to understand what I am about to say. The banks of the river for almost 17 miles are a maze of railroad tracks and steel mills -- there is no room to build anything new. Industry has said it would cost too much to add the pollution control devices on the river. They have said they could not afford to continue doing business in the Mahoning Valley if they had to spend all the money putting pollution control devices on obsolete equipment. Of course, I am not known for being one who believes that industry does not have enough money to do the things I want them to do. So through the efforts of a community coalition, we did an independent study of the economics involved in cleaning up the Mahoning River and that study is frightening. It said we would lose 25,000 jobs. We appeared before the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and we told them that the community could not afford the loss of jobs that would take effect in the Mahoning Valley and they did not believe us. They did their own study. As a result they gave us an exemption --temporary relief -- time. Time to put into effect a plan which might revitalize our steel industry and protect our jobs for our sons and our grandsons just as our fathers and grandfathers did for us.

You see our mills are old mills. In fact they are obsolete. We never did get our canal which makes our cost of bringing raw materials into the Mahoning Valley very high. Our furnaces are small so that the economics of making steel in the Mahoning Valley is marginal at best. And I am responsible to 29,000 men who support their families in the basic steel industry in the Mahoning Valley. Even though our mills are old it doesn't mean that our ideas are old. The community coalition that I mentioned earlier in which the United Steelworkers are proud to be a part has new ideas, new concepts, new life for the Mahoning Valley. We still want our canal but we will settle for one in which the ore boats "travel" on steel railroad tracks instead of water. We've asked the Department of Commerce to help fund a demonstration project to prove that we can lower the cost of bringing raw materials into the Valley by use of a unit train. This coalition is suggesting that we replace the old, small, dirty and economically inefficient blast furnaces which dominate iron making in the Mahoning Valley with large, economically efficient and clean production units to protect our jobs and clean up our environment at the same time. That's why we so badly need the time that the Train decision has given us.

As steelworkers we are committed to a clean environment, both air and water, but we also believe that that environment includes such things as a man's livelihood, his residence, the city in which he lives, the schools his children go to, and the relationships he has developed with friends and neighbors over the years. We believe we can do it now that the Train decision has given us that time.

As steelworkers, we are now committed to defend that decision and to begin the long struggle to clean the river and insure our jobs are there for the future.

WILLIAM SULLIVAN, President, Western Reserve Economic Development Agency

MIKE McCLOSKEY, Sierra Club

Our next speaker represents interests for focusing on the status of the local economy. He is Mr. William Sullivan, a lawyer, who is the President of a non-profit group, the Western Reserve Economic Development Agency. Mr. Sullivan.

WILLIAM SULLIVAN

(Not proofed by speaker)

I think that I won't begin by telling a story because Mr. McCloskey and Mr. Alm have already told a story that includes me. I represent the bird in the woodpile, and the mountain climber hanging from the limb. Unfortunately, it is the communities in the Mahoning Valley who have got the most at stake. I am always amazed that when people talk about the trade-offs involved in environmental decisions, nobody ever mentions the community. Yet there is a community, with all that community means, in the Mahoning Valley. (That's not from the doing of anybody alive today,) but which depends for it's very existence upon an old, dirty and outmoded steel industry. That industry provides, directly or indirectly, 40% of the jobs. When you are thinking about the community, think about what would happen to your town, if 40% of the jobs disappeared. This isn't numbers, this isn't statistics, this is a community where people live, and go to school, and raise their families, and try to build a better community for those who come after them. We are trying to do that.

A number of the issues that Mr. McCloskey raised are issues that have been treated directly, seriously, and with a lot of factual data by the leadership of the communities in the Mahoning Valley over the past five years. If you have done nothing else with this conference, you finally got together around the same table, people who should have been together four years ago people who have a great stake in what goes on in the Mahoning. Paradoxically, we're all about to be sucked into a giant trap to believe that what the issue is in the Mahoning is jobs vs. the environment, and it's not true. I don't think that jobs and the environment are in opposition. As a matter of fact, those who understand the Mahoning problem, by having spent time on it, realize that the pollution problems and the economic instability of the Mahoning Valley come from exactly the same source--old, inefficient, and dirty steel mills. What we are saying is the solution to the pollution problem and the economic problem are one in the same, we've got to replace those old, dirty and inefficient units. What EPA has done for the Mahoning Valley, nothing more and nothing less, is to give us the time to develop the strategy to do that. If we fail, we won't be able to blame it on EPA. They've done everything they can do. If we fail, it will be on us, but we are trying to do it.

Now there are a few other issues I think we should discuss and dispose of quickly. One is this jazz about the equivalent job. Because from my point of view, it's meaningless. The reason it's meaningless is, again think of yourself, think of you without a job, having someone tell you that that's no problem because there are new jobs in the pollution control industry in the Southwest. Think of what it means to pick up your family, to move, to start into a new industry, perhaps in your middle or late years. That's what we're really talking about, not numbers, but where a guy goes to work in the morning, where he raises his family.

Now when we started in the Mahoning, we started with a great suspicion of the steel industry and that's not a suspicion that's disappeared. Today we know the steel industry. We know the PR people of the U.S. steel industry, I think, as well as anyone around this table. We've worked very hard to work within the constraints that American steel has placed upon working with it, by its past record. We took little for granted. We started by saying anything that is a health hazard has got to be corrected. Consequently, the communities in the Mahoning Valley have never supported relief on air pollution controls, do not support relief from air pollution controls today, and won't. The Mahoning is not used as a domestic water supply within Ohio. As a matter of fact, you can't get to it during the twenty-two mile stretch it exists in the Mahoning Valley. It is used as a water supply at Beaver Falls. I sat through three straight hearings on water quality standards. I have yet to hear a single piece of evidence to indicate that the condition of the Mahoning even requires Beaver Falls to spend an extra penny in treating the water before it's used. We have no evidence, and I think neither does EPA, that there is a health hazard created by the Mahoning as it is today. The day that the health hazard is demonstrated, we've got to consider what it means. Todate it hasn't been established.

Then there was the question of how important steel was to our economy, and what environmental controls would mean to steel. Again, the communities in the Mahoning Valley did not take steel's word for it. They conduct-

ed a study which was carried out by Ernst and Ernst to look at those two things. Our conclusions were that without steel, the economy is dead and that the economics of pollution control in the Valley are that industry would be likely to withdraw from the Valley in large numbers rather than spend the money. You know, there is no law in this country that says that because you can afford to put in pollution control, you must do so, rather than close your plant. We didn't go quite to the level that Al Alm had to. It was enough for us to come to a conclusion that in any kind of reasonable economic decision-making that U.S. Steel, faced with the costs of putting pollution controls on its Ohio works, wouldn't do so because it didn't mean that much to their production and they could relocate it elsewhere.

Well, we were asked to talk about strategies. We have one that we have been working on for some time. The first thing that somebody who's a green eye-shade economist says, looking at the Mahoning Valley, is that you have to diversify your economy. And they are right. But how do you get somebody to move a new industry into a community that is already in economic trouble? It's just not easily done. Nobody in the United States has found a way to do it successfully yet. If you are on the rise and you've got an Atlanta, diversification is no problem. When you've got Youngstown, Ohio, you've got a tremendous problem. So our strategy began with the realization that we were going to have to try to maintain the steel jobs. How do we propose to do that? First, by getting the time to develop a strategy. EPA has given us that. We hope that our environmental friends will allow us to keep the time and use it. We also hope they will come and try to learn with us, during these two years about what an old industrial community, faced with remedial regulation can do to restore itself.

There are two major problems in the Mahoning Valley as far as steel-making is concerned. One is the high cost of the delivery of raw materials to an inland steel plant. We've studied that for a year. We are about to go into an experiment with unit train delivery of iron ore from the Great Lakes ports, which we believe will reduce the cost of delivery sufficiently to make the mills competitive as far as transportation costs are concerned. That should be interesting and important to every environmentalist in this room, because every major steel executive in the United States today is on record as saying that the next integrated steel plant will be on water which means probably on the most environmentally sensitive land in the United States. So, the alternative to revitalizing the steel industry in the Mahoning Valley may be an integrated steel plant on the shore of Lake Erie. If we can establish the fact that inland steel mills can work, there's an environmental service done as well as an economic service. Second, the most inefficient and dirty element of the steel industry in the Mahoning Valley is the blast furnace operation. We have now dragged the companies kicking and screaming into an agreement to study a reorganization of the blast furnaces, a new way of doing it, up to and including a single, consolidated blast furnace operation that would provide iron to all the steel making facilities in the valley. What would that do? At one time, it would wipe out the dirtiest facilities in the Mahoning Valley and convert the Mahoning steel industry from the oldest segment in the U.S. steel industry to the newest. One of the reasons it will work is because the Environmental Protection Agency is there with a water pollution control law forcing the steel industry to face up to their own obsolescence. That's why I say jobs and the environment are not necessarily natural enemies.

The strategy is far more complex than that. We also have a strategy for diversification. We are going to work hard at it. We don't think it's going to bring returns overnight. We have a strategy to build up the non-steel segment of the local industry. Again, we don't expect it to work overnight. We also have a strategy that takes into consideration the fact that none of this may work. We may have to do something to save the community, the impact on public services, that would result from a plant closing. We may have to do something to provide the social services that the individual needs when he is displaced. It is a comprehensive strategy. It has been developed with broad community support. It will, in the short-run, address the question of whether the environment and the economy can work together at the margin, at the old industrial centers in the United States. Sooner or later that question is going to be faced. I think it would be tragic if we allowed this issue to be used by those industrialists who would destroy the fabric of the Water Act to allow this issue to be used as a condemnation of the impact of water pollution controls on the economy generally. The Mahoning Valley is a special case. No other group of communities is so dependent on an industry that is so old and so impacted by the Water Pollution Control Act. We have the same interests as the environmentalists and EPA in regard to the EPA decision and that is, that we confirm it as the exceptional case that it is, see that it doesn't spread, and use it as a laboratory to find out how we can handle the dual problems of economic development and environmental control in an old industrial center.

One other point I should make. I always hear this one thing that comes up: what about the new steel companies who are putting on the environmental controls, aren't you getting an unfair advantage over them? Well, I think the simile is the graduated income tax vs. a head tax. Now, the logic that says we apply the same environmental controls to a brand new steel plant built in 1960 and to a steel plant built at the turn of the century, in order to be fair, is the same logic that says we charge a uniform head tax across the United States, regardless of the ability of people to pay. What you'll do, if you do that, is wipe out the steel industry in the Mahoning Valley and you won't touch Sparrow's Point. If you do it in the opposite fashion, and allow EPA to use the flexibility

built into the law, then both Sparrow's Point and the Mahoning Valley will survive. I think that EPA now has an iron-clad defense against those interests who say the United States can't afford environmental control. And that defense is: yes it can, because we have people at EPA who are willing to look at the facts, who are willing to risk exercising judgement in a bureaucracy that doesn't like exercising judgement and to minimize the economic impact where necessary. Thank you.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

MIKE McCLOSKEY, Sierra Club, California

Now we have come to the time when we would like to hear from any of you to get your questions, your suggestions, your comments. We have been asked to focus as much as we can on the question of what are the strategies to the solutions to this problem? The floor is open.

Question. DICK ROBBINS, Lake Michigan Federation, Illinois

I have a number of questions, but just let me start out with a short statement. We have already written to Russell Train asking one thing--that this decision be opened to the public, not be made secretly inside EPA, that they convene some more neutral panel than they have now to examine some of the facts and to take a look at this issue from a broader perspective.

Let me start out a little more basically. Back in 1972 Congress passed a law. We understand the legislative process operates in such a way that at that point there was a balancing of the economic effects of pollution control with the health effects of pollution control, the health effects being NO pollution by 1983 and partly on the way by 1977. That was the point at which we think a policy decision was made about the Mahoning River Valley and that is the point at which any changes in those decisions ought to be made. We are sorry that EPA did not take that particular approach to making this change, but there is where the policy is made, not in the offices of EPA.

Secondly, I have a couple of other issues. I think this is a government of laws, not of men. We ought to make the laws and interpret them as they are written. If you will take a good look at the legislative history of that act, I think you will see there, as has been stated here already, the firmness and the fundamental basis on which decisions about water pollution are to be made. If we have economic problems with those decisions, then we must find other means to implement those decisions or we must change the basic policies. That is where we should stand. If we need economic redevelopment to go along with pollution control, then we should have a bill for economic redevelopment in an area. We should not rely on economic development and continuation of jobs in the area merely as we are doing now, on the whims of the steel companies.

Let me ask a couple of questions. First about the figures. We've heard about a Booz-Allen report and an Ernst and Ernst report. I'd like to know what EPA did with those figures, where they came from, how they checked them, what staff they have in terms of people to do that, what was accepted, and what was not accepted in those figures. In fact, was there any major review of the basic facts given to EPA by the major pollutors in that area? I think I'll stop there. The basic underlying issue is whether the decision should be made, or was it primarily responsive to the potential backlash which you people see in Congress?

Answer. ALVIN ALM, U.S. EPA, Washington, D.C.

The simple answer is that the decision was made after what I might call an excruciating evaluation of the facts. As a matter of fact, the study took more money than we anticipated. I briefly described the process of getting the facts, and I will now go into more detail. First of all we more or less demanded under Section 308 of the Act that the firms provide us financial information. We indicated that failure to provide that information would lead us not to consider any potential relief. We collected mounds of financial data from the firms. The data were evaluated by an independent contractor and the underlying pollution control cost figures verified. Once the cost figures were verified, Booz, Allen and Hamilton was able to conduct the economic impact study. We developed a detailed factual base and conducted a detailed economic impact analysis of this particular segment of the steel industry.

Finally, let me add that there are never enough facts, anywhere, anytime to make uncontestable government decisions. That's a fact of life. We all have to accept it, but we have collected a mass of data and we have spent a great deal of time analyzing it. In terms of any regulatory decision I have ever been involved with, this represents the most complete, comprehensive, and careful analysis.

Question. MIMI BECKER, Land Use Director, League of Women Voters, Ohio

I happen to live in the Mahoning Valley and I have two questions. I haven't been able to ascertain in that discussion up there whether or not that economic analysis included what happens in terms of the impact on the people in Pennsylvania who depend on the river for a water supply And, whether or not htere has been any work in terms of cumulative impact of the continuation of allowing the pollutants to enter the Ohio River where available information indicates severe environmental health hazards from the water drawn from the river for water supplies for major cities including Cincinnati.

Answer. ALVIN ALM

Let me make a couple of comments about what the decision is and then get into the information because I think it is important. Point one, as I indicated, the plants will have to achieve levels of treatment necessary to meet Pennsylvania water quality standards by 1983. So we are talking about a delay. Secondly, Khris listed a whole series of toxic pollutants. The numerical relief that the Agency provided does not deal with those toxic pollutants.

In terms of the information, I think it's fair to say we do not have comprehensive information on this particular discharge nor, for that matter, for discharges in general. Frankly our environmental data base is far from what we would like it to be, for both technical reasons and because we just don't have the staff and the resources to do the kind of job we would like to do. In terms of Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, which is the principal community impacted by this decision, it will have to have a water supply that meets Federal Standards, under the Safe Drinking Water Act, by July, 1977. We have no reason to believe that the raw water intake from Beaver Falls will not be able to meet the standards. If it cannot meet the standards, we are going to have an issue. The point I am making is that we are not talking about six to eight years of unhealthy drinking water for the people of Beaver Falls. That issue will be joined by July 1977.

Answer. WILLIAM SULLIVAN, Western Reserve Economic Development Agency, Ohio

Let me add just a bit to that. I think I was inadvertently misquoted by Khris. I did not indicate that we knew the water was clean. What I said was that we had seen no evidence to indicate that there was a public health hazard. I didn't make that statement lightly because we have looked hard to try to determine the facts. There have been problems at Beaver Falls in the past, most of them related not to a determined health hazard, but to aesthetic problems with the river that could be traced to the Mahoning. Primarily it was a smell problem which has since been corrected. Now, there are a couple of other things that you need to recognize about the Mahoning when you start talking about the Mahoning and the health hazard problem. One is that the Beaver exists before the Mahoning joins it. Once you determine if there is a problem with the public water supply at Beaver Fall, then you are left with the problem of finding the source of that difficulty. The other thing is that one of the major offenders of water quality in the Mahoning is the U.S. Government. The Corps of Engineers has built a whole system of reservoirs. They have never revealed any rationale for their discharge of water from the reservoirs, which creates a very difficult problem when you are trying to determine what kind of load the river can take and regenerate itself when you never know what the flow is going to be. That is a constant fight between industry that wants the water for a cooling supply and boating enthusiasts who want the water to keep the reservoir up to a level where they can use their pleasure boats. I doubt that the environmental consideration is ever considered at all by the Corps. Beyond that, the reservoirs were built in a rush under wartime conditions and most of them have a bottom discharge, which means that every time you let water out of the reservoirs into the Mahoning, you increase the biological oxygen demand enormously. The Corps doesn't want to talk about cleaning up their reservior problem because it is too expensive, which is one of the frustrations the Valley has had. I think one of the frustrations we feel is that we have developed something of an economic adjustment, comprehensive program to try to deal with the problems of the economy. We desperately need an equally comprehensive environmental program. The structure of the federal law is such that we concentrate on the Mahoning while, as any of you who live in the state of Ohio well know, water supplies which touch people day in and day out far more directly, are neglected. There is no comprehensive program in the Mahoning Valley or, for that matter, in the state of Ohio to redress those problems.

Answer. KHRIS HALL, Natural Resources Defense Council, Washington, D.C.

I think that I will simply add that the EPA is supposed to protect the environment. The studies that they did were economic studies. They didn't do environmental studies on the Mahoning.

Question. TRIP VAN NOPPEN, Save Our Cumberland Mountains, Tennessee

I am from Tennessee and never heard of the Mahoning. I'd like to know from the Steelworkers whether or not you had a study of your own as to the impact of the decision on the water quality in terms of employment, whether you considered what the union might do in pushing the company to clean up, or whether you basically took the company's statistics. I would also like to know from Khris whether you folks negotiated at all with the union in deciding what your strategy was going to be.

Answer. FRANK LESEGANICH, Steelworkers

The information submitted to the union in regard to the water control of the Mahoning River was done in two phases. It goes back many years. Bringing again into light the Corps of Engineers when the study was made, into the feasibility of developing the Mahoning River into some sort of a canal. This was a costly item. We, therefore, took it upon the industry to clean up the river. We never let go. Using the word "blackmail", we were never "blackmailed" into submission. Even at the bargaining table, we bring it to their attention that some control should be put in effect. Either on a progressive nature in years to come, or whatever it may be. If you look at the facts, Republic Steel in the city of Warren itself has done a tremendous job in at least decreasing the heat factor of the water entering the Mahoning River. At the lower end of the Mahoning River, which is primarily used by Youngstown Steel and Tube Corporation today, we do have a problem because we do not have the space between the steel mills, which are right on the banks of the Mahoning. You also have the railroads going through. This is a costly problem, but they are doing everything possible that we can see to at least eliminate the heat factor. This requires a lot of money, and I am not worried too much about money. Because if it takes money to cure the ills of the people, I am all for it. But it creates a lot of problems in the engineering status of moving mills, and entire structures, which is somewhat of a problem or moving the bed of the river. And it is a costly item. Again, it brings in money. We've never let go of putting the 'hammer' so to speak on the industries involved in polluting the Mahoning River or letting them off scott-free. Using "blackmail" again, at the negotiating table, this word is always brought to their attention. Don't use the blackmail system. You cannot spend money in the Mahoning Valley. I think Khris made the statement that most of your major industries in the Mahoning Valley are healthful industries, financially speaking, and they are spending their money in other areas besides the Mahoning Valley. This may be a true statement; I'm not too sure. But the important fact to remember is that we as an organization whether it be Steelworkers, Auto Workers, or whatever organization, always apply pressure to make sure they continue to clean the health hazards, whether air pollution or water control, and we do not cease in our application of pressure.

Answer. KHRIS HALL, Natural Resources Defense Council

The second question: NRDC and other environmental groups were not brought in before the decision was made and we didn't play that much of a role. I think it benefits all of us to get involved in talking to each other about these issues at this point now, however.

Answer. ALVIN ALM, U.S. EPA, Washington, D.C.

I want to comment on Khris' comment about the study not being an environmental study. Over a year and a half ago, we announced the fact that we were doing an economic study on the Mahoning. To my knowledge, nobody disputed the need for such a study.

We have conducted a number of studies dealing with what levels of reduction would be necessary to meet the water quality standards. At this point in time, people from our regional office are working with the states of Ohio and Pennsylvania and the steel companies in trying to develop permits for the steel companies in the Mahoning Valley. Finally, I want to say that in the decision itself, the issue of health problems was a paramount issue. That was precisely the reason we gave absolutely no relief from the air pollution requirements. We are vitally concerned about the health aspects of this decision and it was the paramount determinant of how the decision came out.

Question. LEE DANEKER, Clean Water Action Project, Washington, D.C.

I have two questions for Mr. Alm. First question: as I read 92-500, I find nowhere in the Act is EPA given the authority to grant an economic variance from the 1977 requirement. Could you indicate where in the act you derive this authority? Second question: you stated that in making a decision on the Mahoning, you give great weight to your assumption that this is a unique case. I wonder how you determine that this is unique. It is my impression that there are many one-plant, company towns where there are old industries which may be forced to close rather than meet pollution requirements. In these cases, the impacts relative to that particular town would be much greater than the impacts relative to the Mahoning. Indeed, won't this give instances where this

situation exists, an opportunity to come in and point out that the impacts in these type of towns would be much greater and that they should qualify for a Mahoning-type exemption.

Answer. ALVIN ALM

Let me answer the last question first with the hopes that I'll forget the first question. You are quite right; if one takes a small area faced with a plant closing, the percentage impact on unemployment can be significant. I would like to make two points about the Mahoning, however. First, what is absolutely unique about the Mahoning is the sheer magnitude of the regional impact. As I indicated before, all the plant closings that we have registered since 1971 in our Early Warning System add up to only 16,500 job losses. In the Mahoning Valley, we're talking about the potential loss of 25,000 jobs. Second, a plant closing in a small community will often allow displaced workers to find other job opportunities within a reasonable commuting distance.

In the development of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, it was recognized that there would be some plant closings. It's unfortunate, but it will happen in some cases. In general, we have attempted to deal with plant closings by providing for subcategorization of heavily impacted classes of industries through our effluent guidelines. Through this device, we have been able to prevent plant closings of older, less efficient processes in a number of industries. If we had done that in the case of the Mahoning Valley, there would have been a slackening of pollution control efforts in the steel industry throughout the country.

I participated in the development of 92-500 -- at least as a kibitzer. In the development of that Act, many protagonists had very different ideas about how the Act would be implemented. In terms of our decisions on the Mahoning plants, we do have a legal opinion which I will be happy to make available to you. I do not want to paraphrase it because I won't do it justice. EPA has had entreaties from other industries, for example, the pulp and paper industry in the Northwest and Alaska. We have been very firm about our interpretation that the Act means across-the-board requirements, unless there are compelling reasons not to set such requirements. In our opinion, there were compelling reasons in Mahoning Valley that are not likely to exist elsewhere.

Question. JOE SCHATZ, Conservation Council of North Carolina

I am directing this question to Mr. Sullivan. Mr. Sullivan, you are an attorney. You are also president of a development commission in the area. The law has been on the books for some time on your environmental issues from the NEPA on the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act. What steps did you take, as head of your organization and as an attorney, with the steel companies to comply with the Act from its inception on?

Answer. WILLIAM SULLIVAN, Western Reserve Economic Development Agency, Ohio

In the first place the Act didn't mandate to do anything. Let me try to make clear again where we come from. We are called an economic development agency for one reason. That is what the Department of Commerce wanted to call ourselves if they were going to give us any money. The economic problem has been our primary focus. My board is made up of a majority of the elected public officials in the valley. Now, we were concerned at the outset of this by the same thing that concerns Mike--that the environmental policy of the United States in regard to the Mahoning River would remain behind closed doors by EPA and United States Steel. There is one very easy solution to their problem. Now, I get the general action here that the steel companies are overjoyed by the Mahoning Valley decision. If you were working with the steel companies, you would find that that is not necessarily the case. One easy environmental solution for U.S. Steel would be to close the Ohio works and solve what has been a problem for them. They have closed it in the past only to have public pressure force its re-opening. In a way, it solves a problem for EPA because that takes care of that permit. U.S. Steel replaces the production someplace else. EPA goes home. We're left with a job loss and also the environmental problems of an old and rusting steel mill. So the community felt that it had to have a voice in it. What have we done? We have exercised every legal right of the community from the word "go". I think Al would confirm that. We've filed motions that I think EPA's council hadn't heard of until we filed them and generally didn't recognize what we did. We appeared at every hearing. We have intervened in every permit issuance. We pushed the steel companies in the Mahoning Valley from a position where they said they couldn't afford to spend a penny to a public in-writing position that they were prepared to spend $70 million. Now, that's some movement! The steel companies have gotten into a bit of box in the Valley, because they've gotten pulled down the line to now where they are forced for the first time, at the expiration of the temporary permits, two-year permits, to make a final decision. "Yes, we are going to stay in the Mahoning Valley and that means we're going to replace the facilities" or "No, we are going to leave." All the two years does is give the community an opportunity to try to create the other conditions which will have the steel companies decide that they are going to

stay rather than leave.

I might also add while I've got the floor, Khris' comments on the public health impact, we share. We should have more public health information. I remember four hearings going on the fish life in the Mahoning. We finally had to virtually subpoena the EPA's famed study of fish life in the Mahoning. It turned out to be four pages that referred to a history book that was written at the turn of the century. Now, that is the kind of hard data we were working with, so anything you can find out Khris, we will support.

Comment. ALVIN ALM

I can assure you that we now have voluminous information. Whether or not it meets your definition of hard data is another question.

Question. TOM McELROY, Florida Audubon Society

Just one question to Mr. Alm: How do you justify giving Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, one year to clean up their water supply that is caused by the Mahoning Valley to which you have given complete exemption?

Answer. ALVIN ALM

Beaver Falls may not need to do anything to meet the requirements of the Safe Drinking Water Act. If there is a problem, it will become apparent in Pennsylvania's implementation plan of the Act. In any case, steel mills currently out of compliance will not be in compliance with water quality standards by 1977. Realistically, if one looks at the time these guidelines will be final, permits are written, and actual compliance takes place, you are talking about 1980 or 1981.

Question. MARY MURPHY, Sierra Club, Michigan

Each of you people on the panel have addressed the time factor problem of the Mahoning River. Since I have gotten to the mike you have all come back to the time factor, I would like to go on with it a little bit. Apparently, EPA feels that now is the time for air pollution controls regardless of the fact that you describe the plants in question as being obsolescent. You are asking obsolescent plants to install apparently very expensive air pollution equipment now. Yet you are willing to get to defer their water pollution arrangement, for some future time, in plants which according to your description here, have a very limited future in any case. How can you justify that if the plants are closed because they're obsolete. It is a matter of five years and you are giving them a 2-year exception, or a 3-year variance, which will effect the entire industry. This doesn't seem to make sense in the time span you are talking about. For any of you, some of you asked for a hundred years to correct the problem.

Answer. ALVIN ALM

What I tried to indicate is that the relief we are proposing to provide, we hope, will at least keep plants of two of the three firms in business. The reason that we are pushing the air pollution controls at a much faster rate is simply that the immediate harmful health effects of the air pollution are intolerable in that region. The faster we get this job done, the better. In the past, we have not made sufficient progress on air pollution control because of the economic problems faced in meeting the water pollution requirements. Now we are ready to move vigorously to achieve the primary air quality standards in the Mahoning Valley.

Question. MARY MURPHY

How can you expect an obsolescent plant to install air pollution equipment and not require water pollution equipment in the same vein?

Answer. FRANK LESEGANICH, Steelworkers

In answer to the obsolescence of the plant, the truth of the matter is that, in recent years, let me give you a good example, on the drawingboard at least today, Youngstown Sheet and Tube which is also known as the Lykes Corporation, is in the process of building new open hearths far removed from existing open hearths they have today. The reason I mention far removed is because the present open hearths are right on the banks of the river. There is no means or method they can use to create a condition which would stop the pollution of the Mahoning River. If they move into the Brier Hill area which the drawingboards indicate, and I am only telling you what companies have told me by the way. If they move into the Brier Hill area and install a B.O.F. (Basic Oxygen Furnace) then we can clear a lot of this so-called pollution that exists and is created by the Youngstown

Sheet and Tube Company at the present time. I mentioned the Republic Steel move some years ago, I think about seven or nine years ago from the Youngstown area. Again, I want to bring to your attention, it was located on the banks of the Mahoning River. They are far-removed from the area and are not on the banks of the river. They are far-removed at the present time to create basins and at least the heat factor is not there that was there some years ago. So they really are improving in some areas.

Answer. * WILLIAM SULLIVAN, Western Reserve Economic Development Area

There is another part in the answer to that question. We talk of the steel industry in the Mahoning Valley as if it were a single being. It really is as diverse as the steel industry is nationally, from Copperweld Steel that has electric furnaces. I think with the installation this month of a baghouse in operation it will be in compliance with all of the air pollution control regulations. It is not far out of compliance on water. Now at the opposite extreme you have United States Steel's Ohio works which represents about 2% of their production nationally and at their oldest facility. There are a lot of people in U.S. Steel who would just like to close the Ohio works as an old and inefficient production unit anyway. They've gone farther because they have the corporate financial capability to do it to meet their air pollution requirements, than some of the other companies. Now, from U.S. Steel's point of view, I suspect they will make a fairly cynical decision, "Should we invest some money in air pollution control that is relatively marginal for us and stick around and see what happens in the Mahoning in regard to a joint blast furnace or a unit train operation and see what we can learn that we might use someplace else?" Also, it wouldn't surprise me if U.S. Steel closed and we got on the plane and read that U.S. Steel announced that they were closing the Ohio works. We live with that day in and day out. That could happen any day. What the community had said is, "We can only give so much". Air is the public health hazard and we are not going to give on it. The community is willing to risk the loss of the jobs against an identified health hazard, not against an unidentified and really unalleged water pollution control health hazard. Then you get to the Youngstown Sheet and Tube where they don't have the money. They are going to have to do some gambling because 50% of their production is there. So, the answer is that although it doesn't line up logically, the situation is such that they have very little choice but to try to meet the air pollution controls and it may result in some production in operation.

Answer. ALVIN ALM

I might give a shorter answer to your question. If a firm decides not to make the investment, obviously they'll go out of business and that will be it. Our decision will really test the viability and the willingness of these firms to continue. If they go out of business, the situation will be no different than had EPA gone ahead with uniform guidelines.

Question. MARY MURPHY

Why was the two-year deferment granted?

Answer. ALVIN ALM

The reason for the deferral was to provide relief to allow these plants to continue operations. I think Bill Sullivan is in a better position than I am to indicate whether that will be the case.

Answer. * WILLIAM SULLIVAN, Western Reserve Economic Development Agency, Ohio

The reason that the two years is important is because we got them talking about more basic problems. Now, if the transportation problem and the blast furnace coke oven problems cannot be solved, then we are talking about a strikingly different steel industry with lot less employees in the Mahoning Valley five or ten years from now. From the community's point of view, the two years is also important because it gives the community time to prepare the contingency plan to meet whatever might happen if they don't decide to stay. So, it is critically important to us. What we are talking about is a dramatic new approach to iron-making in the United States, furnaces of a size only the Japanese have built. The interesting thing is: why the Mahoning Valley? The reason is Al Alm and that EPA has forced them to a point where they've got to make a live or die decision in the Mahoning. But, instead of giving them an easy out by saying that EPA closed us--we're going home. They've given them the time to find a meaningful solution. The community coalition has given them a strategy. Now they are between a rock and a hard place. If they close now, it is really on them.

MIKE McCLOSKEY, Sierra Club

I am terribly sorry, but our time has more than run out now. I apologize to the people who lined up. I understand that we are to address these questions in additional core groups. Please do so. I want to thank all the panelists and all of you.

*Remarks by this speaker were not proofed and returned to us!

LILLIAN BENBOW, Assistant Director, Housing Program, Michigan Civil Rights Commission

ART KEYS, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries

This evening we want to deal with the field of housing. Our speaker is Lillian Benbow who is the past National President of Delta Sigma Theta, a public service organization, a member of the National Association of Human Rights Workers and on the editorial advisory board of Essence Magazine. She is the Housing Program Director of the Michigan Department of Civil Rights and will be speaking tonight on Environment, Economics, Housing Justice, and Jobs. I would like to present to you at this time, Lillian Benbow.

LILLIAN BENBOW:

Thank you very much. I am very happy to have been invited to come and see some people who are concerned about the environment and working on it, concerned about jobs, and urban ills. My good friend, my precious friend, Alice Kinnebrew, said she thought I would enjoy this session with you and that I might have some things to share with you that you might find interesting, and I hope that you might find challenging.

I am going to start this presentation with two or three what I call adages that deal with the philosophic and hope that they will afford you some food for thought. Almost overnight it seems the agonies of life have come full bloom. Almost in an instant the long and painful evolution of man's progress through time has suddenly loomed menacingly before him. Belligerent man is staring across the abyss of time at his own belligerent reflection. He has, somewhere along the way, become a fragmented being, suddenly a magnificent awesome reflection of power, possessed of the awesome medical technology to transplant a human heart, but unable to instill love within it; the scientific means to insure knowledge of other planets, but unable to phantom the purpose of life on this one; brilliant enough to develop thoughtless food preservatives, yet giving economic justifications in the midst of hunger to a subsidy program for not producing it; able to build a vast satellite system of global contact, yet unable to communicate with the children of this world; he can feed his mind and his will into the mechanical brains of the computer, but cannot transmit a genuine sense of caring into the consciousness of human beings; he can develop supersonic air travel which makes next door neighbors of the cities of the world, but continues to erect superficial racial roadblocks which make it a long, long, journey between the inner city and suburbia; sermonizing and postulating the sacredness of freedom in far away lands, yet giving little beyond minimal recognition to the rights of those with minority status in this one; continuing a historic and seemingly futile quest for peace in the halls of deliberation, the chambers of government; sitting down to the peace table, all of the peace tables all over the world, engaging in the art of dialogue, the intricasies of debate, and yet feverishly continuing his search for the ultimate and more ultimate weapon to destroy himself.

There's a well known motto which has become more or less immortalized: "He ain't heavy--he's my brother". We all know the Boy's Town slogan, and we can visualize the local type of the young boy carrying another boy on his shoulders. Each of us no doubt envisions an image of brotherly concern and protectiveness. Each of us is able to experience a keen sense of appreciation for the unselfishness of the brother's act of compassion. But let us hypothesize beyond the appearance, beyond the obvious. Let us place the realism of today's brotherhood inside the picture frame. The appealing picture is of the brother carrying his brother, who maybe is lame and unable to walk the distance. But what if the brother has the skills to heal his brother, but chooses to carry him? What if the brother is weak from hunger and the brother who is carrying his has storehouses of food? What if the brother has to be carried because he has no shoes adequate to the journey, but his assisting brother has many pairs? And what if he is being carried because he has no sense of direction as to where he is heading, and his brother who is carrying him has a compass which he can teach him to read, but chooses to carry him instead? What if the brother prefers to say to the world, "He ain't heavy--he's my brother" rather than to make him whole, to make him competent to walk his own mile? What if the brother finds it more satisfying and self-serving to demonstrate his benevolence than enable his brother to walk beside him as an equal? And what if the young brother has been carried so long that he's forgotten that there was a time in his life when he could walk? What if he's stronger than he realizes, but has become psychologically dependent on his dominant brother, has no desire to try his own strength? The brotherhood embodied in the symbolic gesture of one brother carrying another can only be meaningful if that is the extent of the ability of each, if one cannot heal, and if the other cannot walk. Brotherhood is not so much to help, as to make help unnecessary. Not so much to pity, as to rejoice in those times and in those instances when there is no need for pity. Brotherhood is not so much to be his keeper, as to insure that he is your equal. And then if tomorrow his strength is returned

and yours has vanished, brotherhood would insure that the journey is not lost to either brother.

Aldo Leopold, the philosophic founder of the study of wildlife management, wrote in 1933, "When we see land as a community to which we belong, we can begin to use it with love and respect." For our purpose tonight, it is well for us to extend the thought "When we see other people as the humanity to which we belong, we may begin to treat them with love and respect." Racism in this country creates a barrier which prevents the white majority from seeing dark skinned minorities as the humanity to which they belong and thus they do not treat them with love and respect. Institutionalized racism has given far too many minorities an unsolicited and unwelcome preview of the deadly prospects embodying the wide spectrum of environmental concerns motivating this conference. The temporary element of unemployment has already begun and become the permanent state of the unemployed. The air has already become foul and stagnating to far too many segregated minority ghettos in this land. Too many bodies have already become bloated with malnutrition and disease. Spacial or territorial preferences have already been curtailed, environmentalists. Yes, there's already the dog-eat-dog struggle for control of the bare life-sustaining scraps and niches of an impoverished environment which white society has just begun to gleen as a potential environmental catastrophy. It has already been visited on the heads of minorities in this country for centuries. Is the lack of a job anymore devastating because it is eliminated by ecological guidelines rather than denial because of racism?

Walter W. Heller did a study, Economics of the Race Problem, and subtitled Table One "The High Cost of Being Black". I am using 'black' a lot for the minorities here because I have concluded, and I'm sure you have, that if anything good happens to blacks, it is going to happen to all the other minorities. In it he did a human capital cost of being black and concluded that the income cost of being black was $1,000 per year. That is, if blacks had the same educational attainment, occupational composition, and geographic distribution as whites, they would still earn $1,000 a year less per person than whites. The study concluded that the human capital cost of being black was $10,000 a year. That is, the average gap between the nation's investment in an adult black and an adult white is $14,000 in education, $8,500 in work experience. It also concluded that the distributional cost of being black was 30 years. That is, blacks suffer a 30-year lag behind whites. Now this study also proposes the stake that whites have in economic discrimination against blacks, in job discrimination, is a rough figure of $15 billion a year. Now that is white gain black loss, $15 billion a year. But society as a whole has a great deal to gain by eliminating discrimination against non-whites. It has been estimated that the nation loses between 3 and 4 percent of its Gross National Product annually through its failure to make full use of existing skills and knowledge of non-whites, coupled with its failure to bring those skills and knowledge to a par with those of whites. By removing all discrimination we are talking about a potential gain for this nation of between $30 and $40 billion in output annually. This is made up of two parts. One, eliminating job discrimination. That is putting blacks in jobs that are equal to their present capacity would yield the country between 1% and 2% of additional output per year. Two, coupling this with removal of education, occupational, and other disparities, would yield an additional $1\frac{1}{2}$% to 2% in annual output.

In spite of all this, the positive aspects and the positive potentials, if blacks and other minorities were, in fact, to have full equality in the job market, black workers are faced with an employment handicap in this country previously experienced by no other group in the history of this nation, namely, the denial of the opportunity to live in areas reasonably close to available jobs. Automobile executives, for instance, in Detroit, are said to have accepted as inevitable the high rate of absenteeism and turnover of black workers in plants in the Down-River area and in the Oakland County area because of the long distances that black workers must commute each day between their homes in the City of Detroit and the plants in suburban localities. They even expect greater absenteeism and growing labor problems with minority group workers because future plants will undoubtedly be located in the fringe areas of agricultural land, that is out into exurbia. Now is planned land used any more restrictive because of environmental standards than exclusionary zoning designed to prevent minorities from living in suburbia? The late Mr. Clarence Funnye who was with the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing a while back, something like 4 or 5 years ago, just before he so tragically died in a plane crash, was at a conference in St. Louis that was called by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and was about housing. During that,discussion, the comment was that many people believe that black people really prefer living in the core cities, in the urban centers, of this nation. And they asked Dr. Funnye what his opinion was on that. The black brother rose and said, "Well, you know, it is very interesting. Whites who represent European stock, in the main come from the dank, dark ghettos of Europe, and blacks come from Africa, the wide open spaces, the green grass, the fresh air. All of a sudden white people are native to the wide open spaces, the green grass, the fresh air and blacks are native to the ghetto. So that seems a bit inconsistant to me." Over 80% of Michigan's non-white population has no contact with non-whites, so some of you may be having your first contact this session! From the time the factories began to attract ever-increasing numbers of blacks into cities, blacks as well as the poor of other races, have been forced to live apart as separate people. Apartheid. Housing segregation, perpetrated primarily at the insistance of government on restrictive covenants in all new housing developments up until the 50's, quarantined blacks in the oldest, least habitable sections of the cities. The proportion of unsound housing occupied by blacks in Michigan is twice the proportion occu-

pied by whites. Discrimination both deliberate and negligent enforces the boundaries that contain all but a few blacks who can combine the ability to pay with a willingness to endure the obstacles to escape and the hostility they must endure.

Thus isolated from the rest of society, the ghetto as we know it today, has been easy to neglect and easy to exploit. The quality of public services in the inner cities, from recreation and health facilities to law enforcement and most important of all, public education, has never measured up to the quality of these services that are afforded middle and upper income white neighborhoods. Parasites in the forms of slum landlords, unethical businessmen, leaders of organized crime, and other political and even religious demagogues, have found the ghetto a fertile host to feed upon and by which to enrich themselves. The effects on ghetto life in terms of ignorance, disease, crime, unemployment, and the deterioration of family relationships are well-known to all of us.

In 1949, you are well aware that Congress passed the Housing Act and had two main objectives in mind when that act was passed. One was to provide a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family. And two, to eliminate substandard and blighted housing. Today, some 27 years, Urban Renewal, Relocation, 235, 236 ad infinitum and sundry other programs later, the federal government has not made good on those objectives. Joined in this failure with the federal government is the private housing industry. The governmental and private sector practices have combined to exclude minorities and poor whites. The white affluent citizens enjoy new suburban housing and the minority poor citizens have to depend on the trickle down process for their housing, always occupying that which has been left behind as whites run farther and farther out. The cost of maintaining housing has spiraled to such a degree that private ownership of rental housing for low income families is no longer even viable. Abandonment of many older houses represents for many landlords the act of ridding themselves of a losing proposition, but for low income renters abandonment means less available housing and an increase in unsightly vandalized neighborhoods. The fact that owners are free to abandon, and now the federal government has joined the core of abandonment landlords, points up the stark difference in the options available to landlords and tenants, one choosing to relinquish maintenance demands and forego the rental income and the other without choice, losing a decent place to live.

Now, recently we are aware that there has been passed by the Congress a new Housing Act, the 1974 Act, and that was the Community Development Act of 1974. That act, of course, is the federal government's way and, as Mr. Ford has, in a very laudatory way, assured us that the local communities, the local governments, are in charge of their own destinies as cities and communities. They are going to insure that those who are less affluent, those who are poor, dispossessed, those who are old, those who are sick, those who are dependant will be afforded the same opportunities to secure good housing as those who are more ably prepared to do so because of their own affluency. We know as an agency, (the Michigan Civil Rights Department), that up to this point, certainly the first year's monies did not in fact insure equal opportunity, did not afford the same opportunities for good housing, did not afford any opportunities for minority persons to move into the suburban areas. You know, there is one provision of that act that requires that a community give a numerical projection of those "expected to reside" in the community. In other words, that enormous core of people who work outside of the City of Detroit, and we'll just take up a community such as Livonia. In the city of Livonia (they do have a lot of workers commuting from the city of Detroit), based on the number of employers in that city who employ minorities and low income persons, will project the number of houses it will make available for those who would naturally be expected to reside there. We have already referred to the fact that at no time in history has there been an occasion, been periods of time, been in the experience in this country or any country when workers were not afforded opportunities to live near their jobs. This is a phenomenon. This is unique in the history of this country, in the history of the world in fact. But it is obvious that most suburban communities will not undertake any program which potentially could be a benefit to minority citizens not presently residing in the community in the absence of a direct requirement to do so by HUD. And of course we know that HUD is not going to direct anybody to do anything! Tragically, this means that many suburban communities will continue to fail to meet the housing needs of even their <u>own</u> lower income citizens, the overwhelming number of whom are white. That is where the white people get caught up in this situation, the official, the mayor, the councilmen, and the planners. They get so caught up in making sure that those black people who work there from down in the ghetto areas don't get out there to live, they refuse to make anything available to those of their own who are also in need of good housing. And, of course, that is to preclude there being any kind of program that would invite those whom they feel to be undesirable. In short, the patterns of residential segregation by income and race are being maintained through a range of covert practices where inaction and circumvention with respect to existing laws have replaced the more overt discriminatory acts. Such practices, however, operate with effectiveness equal to or greater than the more overt acts. And based upon the experiences of our department, the Department of Civil Rights, it must also be said that the federal government through the Department of Housing and Urban Development appears to be complicit with the maintainance of these practices.

There has been a great deal of attention recently to the third partner in the housing triumvirate, the mortgage

lender. There is the federal government, there is a private housing industry and then there is that third partner that is very strong--the mortgage lender. The attention recently has been on the fact that there has been a great deal of "red-lining". Red-lining tactics which in fact serve to create more deterioration in the inner cities because those tactics actually block out and pollute--that is financial and economic pollution--where the banks actually deny home mortgages and monies for refinancing mortgages and rehabilitation to minorities and to low income persons. Red-lining is a term used simply because the banks take a map, put it upon the wall and take a red pencil and place a ring around it, draw a ring around the geographic area and all the blocks within that red line are not going to get any money for rehabilitation, or for mortgages because it's "off limits". The risk is too high and they base the risk on number one, too many black people; two, too many minorities and poor; and of course they give us the reason that the area, being economically risky, that is the houses themselves are not adequate to what they determine to be a standard risk factor which they feel is within a safe norm for them. It's self-perpetuating, it feeds on itself. Because if in fact people can't borrow money to rehabilitate their houses nor secure mortgages to move in, then it means that the neighborhood dies from neglect. It has to be, because the people cannot secure money to maintain their properties. And so, the banks in fact actually use monies that those persons within that area, within that community, within that city, to make loans for mortgages and rehabilitations in the suburban areas. So it means that the city people, the ghetto people, are actually subsidizing suburbia.

Now, this has great significance for this evening's caucus sessions because the recent law prohibiting red-lining in neighborhoods is a direct result of the efforts, the pressure groups formed, special interest caucuses, that bombarded state legislators and Congressmen and councilmen, mayors. There are presently before the Michigan House some bills to prevent, to prohibit red-lining. So the fact that those groups, and they were around the country in every major city, were concerned with red-lining and the threat was to withdraw their monies, to withdraw their savings out of those banks that were not, in fact making loans. This is a very practical kind of application of a caucus. This is what a caucus is about. Caucuses come together in a common interest, common concerns, common problems. Those problems may be general in nature, but during the discussion, during the dialogue, as they share ideas and share concerns, they come then to the specifics because caucuses really should do a kind of management by objective concept. When you meet this evening, yours should be the W's: the why, the where, the what, the when, and that foreign, that alien one--the how, because it is effective. Certain minority persons and low income persons have no clout except to band together and to become a collective force. Individually they cannot do it. Dorothy Height, the President of National Council of Negro Women likes to refer to what Mary McLeod Bethune used to say. She said, "If I tap you with one finger, touch you, you may not know that I have even put my hand near you, but even if I put five fingers on you lightly, you may not know it. But if I put them into a fist, I can strike you a mighty blow." That is what the caucus is about. It's about striking a mighty blow. I don't know to what extent you, as conferees, want to strike blows. I imagine the environmentalists want to strike some blows for the environment, for a more healthy environment, for more responsiveness on the part of the federal government, for more responsiveness on the part of the state government, local government, and so forth, certainly on the part of industrialists. I would imagine those of you who come with an interest in employment and environmental standards, environmental guidelines and what that will be doing to those jobs that they take away from you, certainly have some special interests. I would hope that the black folks here have, of course I know that this is an integrated setting, as it should be, but we still come with our special interest. And, of course, the degree to which we are affected in terms of race, in terms of our social standard, etc., would be those things that would be pretty obvious during the caucus, and which you would be coming to in terms of objectives and goals. Your objectives of course; the how to's, how you are going to do it, and what you are going to do. And the goals, where you plan to go, what is the ultimate. What results do you plan to get?

I have enjoyed this. The other day I was reading something that said, something like 23% of all Americans at any given moment are either going to a conference or returning from one. I read that. I think we all recognize each other. When I came in someone said, "Hi." I said, "Oh, I know you." She said, "Yes, you do, we saw each other at a conference." That is how we see each other and of course I am always a little disturbed that as professionals we meet. We very seldom have those persons that we are supposed to be meeting about. We see ourselves as the managers of environment. We see ourselves as the managers of jobs. We are going to determine who gets the jobs and how they get them. We are going to determine if the air is going to be free. I think environmentalists are supposed to be meeting down in Detroit where the air is foul. I think you are supposed to be on the corners. I think you are supposed to have fliers, be out there beating the drum with a tambourine. Show that you are dedicated, that you are impassioned about it, and that you would be saying to white people, "Be kind to your black brothers and sisters, because when that last cup of air is there in this world, you may find yourself clinging to some big black man or some big black woman trying to share that last gasping bit of oxygen." So if you are really serious about what we are talking about, if we are really serious about what the conference is about, then we know that this is only the beginning. It certainly has to spread out to get into the areas where you can be concerned and where you can show concern. Because yours is a mission, you must mobilize people, you must be a catalyst. Unless you are, you will live in your world of fantasy, and pass on,

and nobody will know we've been here.

I began this with a kind of philosophical ideological kind of reference and I shall end it the same way. There is the age old story of the woman who expected a visit from the master. She arose early in the day and began to busy herself cleaning and fixing for the honored guest. Soon there was a knock at the door. There stood a begger asking for food. "Do not disturb me", she said, "I am too busy to bother with you, I am expecting a visit from the master." A few hours later a blind man appeared. She turned him away with the same impatience, "I am too busy, I am looking for the master. I am going to experience the peace and joy which he will bring to my house." A third visitor appeared. A sick man to whom she gave the same answer. "I have no time for you. I am looking for the master." But, alas, at the end of the day, her heart was heavy, for the master did not come. She hurried out the next day and came to where he was. "Master, I waited for you all day and was very saddened when you did not appear." To which he answered, "I came three times. I asked for food, but you fed me not. I was blind, but you would not minister to me. I was sick and weary, but you would not let me rest." And the woman said, "Lord, I did not recognize you". It is imperative that all the peoples of this world recognize all other peoples as the humanity to which we all belong and begin to treat them with love and respect. By no other means can we save ourselves and the planet earth. Thank you.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS:

Question: One of the things that we are experiencing in Washington, and I know that it is happening all over the country, is a lot of talk about revitalization of the cities. What that seems to be meaning in many places, is that you are having people get involved in urban homesteading and coming back into the urban core. But what's happening, instead of having houses rehabilitated for low income people, you are having middle income and upper middle income people moving in and the folks that are there, there just isn't any other place for them to go. I wonder if you've had any experience in this area. Or have any suggestions for us who are working in the cities.

Answer: Yes, that is the concept of urban renewal, in terms of what is happening now with rehabilitation. In the inner cities, it is laudible, because if minority persons and low income persons can have their houses rehabilitated, they can in fact insure that they are going to have stable houses because most of those houses are built very well. But, what is happening now is some ego-tripping by white folks who decided that they have been out in suburbia and now they want to come back. This has very little impact on what that city is about. It has to do with some specified areas which they see as having historic significance and as kind of a showcase. Now, if in fact that can catch on, and we can see some widespread activity where it does in fact go into those areas where there are black people, old people who need their houses fixed up, need their houses rehabilitated, that's fine. I hope it catches on. But right now, up to this point, it has been strictly a kind of a trip for those who would be doing one more thing, one more happening, and very isolated in specific areas and those that are more or less historic.

Question: MURRAY LEWIS, Get Oil Out, Inc., California: I would like to thank you very much for your informative talk. I want to ask you: I have been in a number of cities. The abandoned areas are like bombed out districts. They are heartbreaking. What can we do about them? How can we tackle abandonment?

Answer: Everything that has happened with housing has to do with the federal government. Back in the 30's when they established FHA, even in 1949 when they had the Fair Housing Act designed to see that every American had a decent home, etc., etc., there was no intent on the part of the federal government to do anything about it. It is pacification. On the books of FHA until the 50's, you had such restrictive convenants. There were the provisions. Only caucasians could live in this neighborhood, you know, on the deeds. So, the abandonment could be turned around if in fact the federal government would go ahead and let the cities have those houses, let people live in those houses. Even when people are out of work, when they are buying on FHA, why should they put them out? Why take that house over to let it just rot and become an abandoned house? It costs the federal government more when those people move out of that house than it does to let those people stay in there. Put some kind of a moratorium, some kind of assistance, which now they say they are going to do now with one of the new programs. But nothing has happened so far. In Detroit, it has been something like 3 or 4 years that they have been saying let the city have the houses for a dollar. Thousands of houses are dotted around. So they said all right, we will turn them over to you. So when the Common Council decided they were going to start tearing them down because they were hazardous, then HUD was attempting to sue the city. "You cannot tear houses down. They belong to the federal government." So what has to happen is a group such as this, when you come to these kinds of meetings, you have to come enraged, you have to leave here enraged, because nothing is going to happen about that situation. Those houses are going to stay there, abandoned, with the federal government as a landlord, an absentee landlord, just as you have other private absentee landlords. Unless the public, unless those influential people begin to say something. Now you know we rode on the backs of these grassrooters long enough. All of the benefits, all of the changes that have been made over the past

decade were made, and now we are getting the benefits. They were made by people who got out there, who came together as caucus groups and who got out there and took it, who went to jail, who put rings around these places, who locked arms and sang and what have you. But now there has been a kind of turning away from that and we as professionals, and we sit and talk with each other, and we use pretty phrases and pretty words. We feel very good about ourselves when we come to this kind of conference. We go back and we really mean that we are going to do something. But what we mean to do is the usual. And the usual is never going to make it work. So, unless there is in fact a sitting in, go down to your Common Council meeting. Sit in as a group, not one little old lady who pipes up... it doesn't mean a thing. She gets her picture taken and that's about the extent of it. Some reporter who wants to have a human interest story. But in order to make an impact, we have got to have people who can articulate. People who have jobs, who have something to lose. People who have something at stake. Those are the people who should be down there. You know we should be saying to our directors, "I am taking off today because I am going down to the Common Council to talk about abandoned houses. I am going to Washington." Walk. Do like Dick Gregory does.

Comment: PATRICK HEFFERNAN, Sierra Club, Labor Committee, California

You mentioned red-lining and I hope everybody understood the impact of what she said. It means that the banks take money in certain neighborhoods. You put it in your savings account there and they won't loan it in those neighborhoods. Those neighborhoods fall apart. I lived in those neighborhoods, in Venice, California. We watched the banks systematically red-line our area and then when it got declared a slum, a ghetto, the prices fell and the banks went in and bought that area at about 10¢ on a dollar. About a year later we got luxury condominiums that sold for $50,000 apiece. It is a nice little shell game they play.

Well, it does something else, too. It means that the people who were living in those areas move out to the ring around those areas. Then the next people move out. The next thing you know, there are three or four more suburbs out in the farms. So, those of us who live and work for the environment have a very strong interest in red-lining. I wanted you to make that very clear.

I wanted to say something else. The treasurer of our state of California has laid the law down to the banks about women. Any bank in California that refuses a loan to women just because of their sex does not receive state funds and of course our state banks have several hundred million dollars around various banks. Several banks said they wouldn't and they lost some very large accounts. I think we can all put some pressure on our state treasurers to say that any bank who red-lines isn't going to get any state funds either. The state treasurers, as far as I know, are elected. They respond to the people, and if they don't we can get new ones. Just would like to pass that one on. There might be something we all can do with it.

Question: IDA DEAN McCUIEN, ACORN, Arkansas

I'm from Little Rock. I'm from ACORN. Ida Dean McCuien. I would like to ask anybody here that is with HUD a question. What I would like to know is: why, when you go to the government, to HUD, do they give you the run around? I live in a slum government project. I live in North Little Rock. We have a project that was built over a swamp that was not filled in at the time. They told us, you low income people, you people that are disabled, you people that are drawing disability, you people that are drawing social security, we're going to build you houses. The houses are beautiful, yes. But they were shells. We are on a swamp. This time of year we have to live with parents, the older people have to go stay with children, because when it rains, you have a flood in your living room. If it rains a little bit harder, you swim in the bed. We have went to them. They have sent people there for four years straight to study. They always study in the dead of summer, no rain. I would like them to send someone to study now. I wonder why. We had wrote to Texas, to Washington. I can't go. I can't walk that far. I have a bad heart. I'm disabled.

Answer:

Usually when they come in, they come to "study" the situation. Everything has been studied! These are studies upon studies. But they come in and of course don't see you first. It is an interesting thing. I used to work for F.H.A. We kept grievances before them, you know. The black people, the few of us who were there at the time, because it has been some while ago! At that time there were just a few black people in that agency. We would send in grievances and they would always have a black man come in to talk with us about our grievances, about which he was going to be obviously concerned of course; he was going to give us a fair deal and so forth! But it was interesting, we began to notice that every time he came in to talk to us he always had lunch with the boss before he talked with us. He always came in a day early and was always taken to lunch. Then he would talk to us the next day. The bureaucracy is a very strange animal. The web runs always leading to certain places. Decisions are made before contact is made in many instances. Any time you have the federal government and big business, and you have the big industry of housing, you have city government where there are

many many codes, where you have the various departments such as inspections, and so forth. There is a kind of cushion here for each other. There is never going to be a situation where you have a very objective appraisal of the situation. Very, very seldom does that happen. That is why it is important the pressures are brought to bare. So, my sister, what you do is get all the folks who have those "natural" water beds and get together. Do you have a tenants union? Yes, that is a good approach. But don't get passive. "Walk together, don't get weary." You have to be strong. You have to sometimes create noise so other people can hear you. You talk to those who are bureaucrats (and I'm one!). They usually have all the answers for you! But they are preconceived and predetermined. So you have to make a lot of noise. You have to attract attention to yourselves and to your conditions. And there is always one thing that is a source, the media. If you can do something that is new and this is unique, the media will pick it up. Now, poorness is not unique, not new to them so don't go the poor route. Latch onto something unique about your situation even if it means when that water comes in, when it rains, you open your doors and you create something that appears to be a windmill, do something! Have your children make something that will attract the media in. Where it is picked up, and if it is picked up, the bureaucrats are very sensitive about things being picked up. So, if its picked up in the media, you will find there will be some attention to your situation. The project shouldn't have been built there in the first place. The developers shouldn't have built over swamp area like that. It is totally unsuited. I am sure you will get results, but you will have to do something to get it.

Question:

I would like to know how effective or if any of the housing people have really taken a good look at the NEPA Act, (National Environment Policy Act), to see if that can be used as a tool on behalf of the people. Now I am aware of one case of a community that I left. The Cedar Riverside project in Minneapolis has been stopped on the basis of a NEPA statement, or lack of it. I wonder if that might be an effective tool for some of the other bad housing projects that are being proposed.

Answer:

Here in Michigan we have the State Housing Development Authority (we see it as a "little FHA"); that agency, which is charged with providing housing for low and moderate income persons, has a good portion of the subsidized monies from HUD. The Department of Civil Rights is a review-and-comment agency; that is, we review applications involving federal funding. Of course, our interest is to see that minorities and low income persons have equal access to housing that is available. Although we cannot prevent funding, we can make negative comments to the funding agency (HUD). The Environmental Impact Statement requirement does give us an added handle by which to influence responsible action on the part of HUD and the State Authority. It also works the other way as well sometimes, but it does come to us for review.

RUSSELL PETERSON, Chairman, President's Council on Environmental Quality

TIM SAMPSON, Citizens Action League, California

To introduce our first speaker, it is my pleasure to introduce to you a member of the Conference Planning Committee. When the Conference Planning Committee met on its several occasions, this particular member of the Planning Committee and I sized each other and went at it, probably natural enemies. It was so enjoyable for me at least that I have come to regard her as my friend. Formerly an outside agitator with the Lake Michigan Federation, now an inside agitator with EPA, Lee Botts.

LEE BOTTS, Assistant for Congressional and Intergovernmental Relations, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Region 5, Chicago, Illinois

The man who is going to help us put this conference all together, and help us as we make the effort on this third day of the conference to pull together the ways in which we are going to go back to wherever we came from and work together from now on, began his career as an environmentalist and a citizen action person in a most unlikely way. He was a chemist who became Vice President of Dupont, a small corporation in the State of Delaware. He was in charge of research at Dupont, but as a Vice President, he was called on to represent the company in community affairs. Lo and behold, he became very involved in community affairs.

He ended up organizing such efforts as a group of 6,000 citizens to work for prison reform in Delaware, organize citizens to work for housing and other environmental issues. His decision to run for governor was a direct result of the citizen action that formed "Peterson for Governor" committees in Delaware and demanded that he run for governor. At this time in that campaign, he had his first contact with organized labor. The UAW refused to endorse him. He went out to the plant gates at 5:00 in the morning, they acted like he didn't exist. No one would shake his hand. They didn't even look his way, they just went on inside the plant. Well, he won that election.

While he was governor, he provided leadership under which the people of Delaware decided to preserve the quality of their lives rather than to assist big economic interests to use the coastline of Delaware for superports and other intensive economic development. When the time came to run for re-election, UAW endorsed him solidly, and organized labor supported him, big business did not, and he lost. I don't know what the message is! I think this is what Tim was talking about. We have to turn the country around. Anyway, since 1973, he has been Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality in Washington which is in the Executive Office of the President, and has, I'll have to say in my judgement, the very difficult task in the present administration of advising the administration about environmental quality. This morning he is going to talk on the theme of this conference "Working for Environmental and Economic Justice and Jobs" -- Russell Peterson.

RUSSELL PETERSON:

Thank you Lee, Tim. Good morning everyone. I appreciate the opportunity of being here today. I want you to know one of the most satisfying things in my life was a bumper sticker, "UAW for Peterson." I want to correct one little detail. I didn't go to work as a citizen activist because of my Dupont job at all. It was completely separate from that, working and trying to reform the prison, and the low income neignborhoods in our community.

This conference is all about improving the quality of the human environment. From my conversations here with some of you last night, I realize that you are having some very vigorous discussions about it about the key issue of improving the quality of life. As you all know, each of us human beings has a pretty broad spectrum of needs, all the way from those basic physiological needs of food, air, water, and health on up to the much higher needs of self-fulfillment, self-actualization, appreciation of some of the spiritual values, living in harmony with nature. Now we are beginning to realize more and more how all of these are tied together in one comprehensive whole. Unless we get together in sessions like this, and begin to understand that, we will have a greater and greater difficulty in coping with them.

It appears to me that when we talk about quality of life, as our success in fulfilling this whole spectrum of needs, each of us, no matter where we are, when we talk about that, there is no limit to growth in the quality of life. All of us have to decide what kind of goals we want, how we are going to get there, and then work together to make it happen. There is nothing more potent particularly in our participatory democracy, than citizen action. That's where the power really is, as you know, and our country is beginning to learn that more and more.

I want to start out here this morning talking about a subject which I have been deeply involved in during the last year and a half or so, and that is the question of jobs and the environment, one of the principal items for discussion here.

This year, in order to satisfy the requirements of Federal laws, Americans will spend $17 billion to clean up or prevent air and water pollution. That amounts to $80 for every man, woman and child in the country.

We could do a lot of other things with that money.

At $400 each, that money would buy 42.5 million color TV sets--enough to put one in every U.S. household that does not already have color TV, and still leave 13 million for distribution as seconds.

At $6,000 each, that sum would buy 2,833,000 automobiles.

At $16,000 each, that money could pay room, board, and tuition for four years for 1,062,500 young people at a medium-priced college.

Or, juggling the figures around somewhat, the $17 billion we will spend on pollution control this year could send 83,677 lucky youngsters off to four years at Harvard with a color TV in the back seat of their Mercedes 450 SL, and $50 a week in spending money in their pockets. After paying room, board, and tuition, they'd still have enough left for four years in medical school. Every night for all eight of those years, they could have a steak or lobster dinner in virtually any restaurant they chose. And for the last four of those years--after they reached 21--they could, in addition, have two martinis before dinner and a cognac after.

Instead, we're going to spend the money on cleaning up our air and water.

These are instances of what economists call "trade-offs". If you want more of one thing, you have to do with less of another. And even though none of us would want to be operated on by a doctor who had absorbed all of those martinis and cognacs, some of those other trade-offs have serious implications for our economy and for employment. The additional 2.8 million cars that our environmental investment could buy, for example, would create 390,000 jobs in the auto industry, and 580,000 more jobs in other industries, ranging from steel and plastics to hotels and real estate.

In the real world, of course, that $17 billion would not simply be lying around, waiting to be spent on luxuries or medical school educations. But it would be available to us in various forms--in hundreds of dollars for some people, in pennies for others. It would mean larger profits for some industries, freeing capital for new investment or for distribution to stockholders. If automobiles did not have to be equipped with emissions controls, they would cost less. If the pulp and paper industry did not have such a formidable problem with water pollution, their products could be cheaper--thus reducing the cost of many things we buy from magazines to packaged cereals. If our cities and towns did not have to spend so much on sewage treatment, our taxes could be lower--or we could devote more public funds to the people at the bottom of our economic ladder. Finally, if the most pollution-prone industries--especially paper, metal finishing, electric utilities, chemicals, and iron and steel--did not have to invest so much in control equipment, they might be able to sell their goods at lower prices, sell more of them and, hence, need to employ more workers.

Thus, there <u>are</u> real possibilities for conflict between environmental protection, economic justice, and jobs. And as you have often heard--from some governmental officials, as well as from many business executives--these conflicts make it necessary for us to go slow on environmental protection. We're trying to go too far, too fast, they say.

Well...it's possible, of course, to go too far, too fast in <u>any</u> line of endeavor, including--to cite some examples that have crossed my desk from time to time--the filling-in of wetlands, the strip-mining of coal, the depletion of our domestic oil and gas, and the manufacture of cancer-causing chemicals.

Extremism in the pursuit of environmental clean-up could indeed slow our economy. But it hasn't happened yet. Indeed, the evidence is that environmental regulation has created jobs that otherwise would not exist. Our current recession--from which, hopefully, we are now recovering--was not caused by environmental regulations, or the cost of pollution control. It was caused by a number of factors, but mainly by a sudden, sharp increase in the price of oil. Even if there had been no environmental regulations whatever, we would have suffered a substantial economic setback. Environmental regulations did nothing to cause the long lines at gas stations a while back, nor the sudden loss of consumer confidence that led to deferred purchases and widespread layoffs. Industry itself, nervous about energy prices and slackening demand, postponed expansion plans, be-

gan using stockpiled materials instead of buying new, and waited to see what would happen.

In the recession economy of 1974 and 1975, environmental regulations forced expenditures that would not otherwise have been made. They put people to work: according to several studies that CEQ and the Environmental Protection Agency commissioned, about one million people are employed today as a result of the environmental clean-up regulations established over the past 10 years. This includes jobs directly involved in pollution-abatement, as well as the induced jobs necessary to service the former. Directly and indirectly, every billion dollars of environmental spending employs--depending on the nature of the expenditure--between 40,000 and 80,000 people. Some of these people, it is true, would have had jobs in any case, since most of the money spent on environmental clean-up would have been spent elsewhere without the environmental regulations. We figure, though, that 300,000 people who are working today would be out of jobs if it weren't for those regulations.

Obviously, that's good for America. So is the better health that pollution-control expenditures protect--not only for us, but for our children and their children. We spend billions of dollars annually for health care--much of it necessitated by exposure to pollutants in our air and water. And this figure, huge as it is, does not include the costs of lost time and of incalculable human suffering.

Environmental regulations have also led to the creation of a new environmental industry. It's young now, and still relatively small--but indications are that it will remain a permanent fixture on the American economic scene. Some well-known corporations have gotten into the field in a substantial way. After figuring out ways to control its own pollutants, for example, Dow Chemical formed a subsidiary to sell its experience and processes to other companies. Just last month, in reporting earnings results for the first quarter, the president of UOP, Inc., singled out the company's two environment-related divisions for special mention as "important contributors to profits." Engelhard Industries, of Newark, developed a catalyst to reduce pollution in auto exhausts years ago; they couldn't sell their idea to the auto companies. Then, with the almost unanimous passage by Congress of the Clean Air Act, Engelhard found itself with a bonanza on its hands, selling its catalytic converter market, I understand, totalled over $800 million last year, and should double this year, to $1.7 billion. A substantial part of that sum goes to the steel industry, since catalytic converters are now one of the principal uses for stainless steel in the U.S. The converter is a brand-new product--and it has created brand-new jobs, including many on auto-assembly lines all over the U.S.

Despite such evidence that environment-related investments have been a bright spot in an otherwise gloomy economy, many business and government officials have continued to argue that such spending hampers the economy. Thus I have found it interesting to note that during the most rapid growth in pollution-control expenditures in our history, first-quarter earnings for a number of major corporations--including some in pollution-prone industries--have jumped quite sharply. First-quarter profits for the International Paper Co., for example, were $63.5 million, up 35 percent from the same period last year, and those for Allied Chemical, up 25 per cent. The Chrysler Corporation reported profits of $72 million--the company's second-best performance for a first quarter in history. And I was particularly interested in the performance of the DuPont Corporation --not only because I am an alumnus, but because a senior official of the Corporation recently lambasted my arguments in a speech. DuPont's first quarter profits--get this--were up 609 percent from the same quarter last year. Although these marked percentage increases result primarily from comparison with the low level of profits in the first quarter last year, the absolute profit levels of most of these companies are near their historic highs.

In reciting these profit-increases, I don't want to leave the impression that I'm critical of healthy profits. I'm I'm all for them. But what particularly interests me about the sudden recovery of corporate earnings is this: environmental regulations have not been relaxed since 1975--in fact, the reverse is true--and corporations have had to spend more on pollution-control in each succeeding year since 1970. If pollution-control spending hurts economic growth, it is not obvious from an analysis of the sudden profit increases.

Decades ago, American companies began developing a new industry based on providing cool air to consumers. We call it the air-conditioning industry. Virtually everyone here, I suspect, lives in an air-conditioned home or apartment, drives an air-conditioned car, and works in an air-conditioned office. The manufacture of equipment to provide cool air has become a major source of profits, dividends, and jobs. Never have I heard any industrial leader, economist, or banker refer to the air-conditioning industry as non-productive.

And yet now, when a new industry--formed to manufacture, operate, and maintain equipment to produce clean air--comes along, it is termed "nonproductive"--even though it, too, offers investment opportunities, profits, and jobs. The principal difference is that, while the consumers could "vote" for air conditioning with their dollars, they could vote for clean air only through their representatives in Congress.

To borrow some language from Leonard Woodcock, the argument that business cannot afford environmental investment is "the same tired line that has been brought up again since workers first organized to improve working conditions. It was brought up when child labor was eliminated, when the minimum wage was introduced, when Social Security and Unemployment Insurance were developed." Should our economy slow again, I am sure you will hear this "tired line" again.

Having said that, however, let me emphasize that there is a limit on how much we can spend for environmental clean-up, and a limit on how quickly we can impose certain standards. In certain industries, there are already severe problems, and these problems will become worse as we gradually tighten up on pollution regulations. In some cases, tougher regulations and the costs they impose may lead to plant-closings and unemployment.

So far, the amount of unemployment caused by environmental restrictions has been minor. Since 1971, EPA--which operates an "early warning system" to monitor the impact of its regulations on jobs--has learned of 76 plant-closings affecting 16,500 workers--about fifteen-thousandths of one percent of the labor force. I do not want to minimize these losses. If your job was one of the 16,500, it's cold comfort to be told that as a result of environmental regulations, there are at least 300,000 additional jobs in the U.S. than there otherwise would have been.

In the future, the impact of environmental regulations is likely to be somewhat more severe--especially in a few industries. The paper industry, for example, is the third largest user of water for processing purposes, accounting for about one gallon in every seven consumed by American industry. At present, about 90 percent of the used water from pulp mills--loaded with pollutants of various sorts--is discharged directly into rivers and lakes. In order to meet water quality standards, the industry is currently allocating between 16 and 18 percent of its plant and equipment investment for pollution control. In consequence, according to the National Commission on Water Quality, about 4.5 percent of industry capacity is threatened by pollution control requirements.

In every pollution industry, requirements to clean up will hit smaller and older plants especially hard. Larger firms, with better access to capital and to top-flight engineering talent, can often devise their own pollution-control technology--sometimes even making a profit in the process, as they recover valuable chemicals, minerals, and materials that used to be thrown out. Several paper companies have done well in this respect. Some time ago, the Chairman of Hanes Dye and Finishing testified that "cleaning up our stacks and neutralizing our liquids was expensive, but in the balance we have actually made money on our pollution control efforts." Smaller companies, on the other hand, are usually forced to buy standard technology which, typically, costs more per unit of volume and is not tailored to meet the needs of a specific plant. Some of the smaller, older plants in the paper industry are only marginally profitable now, and the extra investment required for pollution control could make the difference between staying open and closing their doors.

Such potential failures--and the unemployment they might entail--must seriously concern us in every case, no matter how small the firm. It is important to recognize, however, that for the country as a whole, the shutting down of an operation in one place doesn't necessarily mean the loss of the jobs involved. Increased production and more jobs will probably be created in a more modern plant elsewhere. In some cases, the magnitude of prospective unemployment may warrant a relaxation of postponing of pollution controls. Just recently, EPA ruled that several iron and steel plants in Ohio's Mahoning River Basin would not have to meet national requirements on water pollution abatement until 1983. EPA based its ruling on an analysis which indicated that meeting the national requirements might throw as many as 25,000 workers out of jobs--about 14 percent of the region's total work force.

But such relaxations must be the rare exception, not the rule, for every such exception invites attempts by some members of industry to escape pollution-abatement by pleading economic disaster. We have embarked on a course of environmental clean-up, and we should go ahead with it until we get the job done. We are, after all, talking about the air we breathe and the water we drink.

And if any sector of our society has recognized the utter seriousness and practicality of environmental protection, it is labor. Workers are more vulnerable to health problems caused by pollution than the typical American, for industrial pollutants are concentrated in the workplace. The workplace, indeed, requires concentrated scrutiny, for it has often given us the first indication of potentially broader problems. Almost every pollutant that has proven to be a hazard in the workplace has gone on to become a full-blown community problem --as witness, asbestos and vinyl chloride. Cleaning up the working environment will add costs to the products produced--costs that must be passed onto the consumer. But certainly that is only just, since the worker is bearing those costs now. If the proper safeguards had been installed at the Life Sciences plant at Hopewell, Virginia, the price of Kepone might have been substantially higher than its normal selling price.

But look what has happened as a result of inadequate safeguards: a number of workers appear to have suffered severe and permanent nerve disorders; oyster-fishing was halted for a time in the James River, and tests on Kepone-levels in crabs as far north as Maryland and Delaware are now being conducted to determine if they are safe for human consumption; for a time, the municipal sewage-treatment system of Hopewell was knocked out, because Kepone destroyed its biological base; and the Commonwealth of Virginia, which initially issued reassuring statements about the modest harm done, has now joined in a multi-million dollar suit against Life Sciences and Allied Chemical.

A pesticide that costs that much to produce--not only in terms of economic impact, but also in terms of human health--perhaps should be priced out of the market, even at the expense of jobs.

We are in a difficult transition period, one that challenges our traditional view of cost. It has been said that there is no free lunch. There is no free pollution, either. Until recently, you and I have been subsidizing without complaint those companies that have been discharging their wastes into our air and water. The price of a product should be calculated to include safeguards to human health and the disposal of waste, as well as the cost of materials, labor, capital equipment, and distribution. Such expansion of our economics of pricing would undoubtedly raise prices; why shouldn't the product that causes the pollution bear the cost of cleaning it up? And since it is usually more difficult and expensive to correct a mistake than to avoid it in the first place, why shouldn't decision-makers be required to build into their decisions the means for avoiding environmental degradation?

This is what the National Environmental Policy Act, and the much-maligned environmental impact statement, are all about. They require any Federal project-manager to take a look at all the costs of his project--not only the concrete and steel and labor, but also the environmental expenses--and determine whether the benefits exceed the costs. In addition, the law requires the project-manager to explore alternatives: is there any better, more cost-efficient way of getting the same job done? These questions, indeed, may force a look at the most fundamental question: is the job worth doing at all?

Over the next quarter-century, I think this new, comprehensive, long-range way of looking at environmental costs will be extended to all facets of decision-making, and will lead to a significant restructuring of the types of projects we undertake. We have been running on underpriced energy for a century now, and we have been using it and other natural resources in a wasteful fashion. Despite all the talk about conserving energy and recycling materials, and the logic of such a course, too little conserving and re-cycling are being done. But probably the most wasteful thing we do is to forego the talents and productive capacity of millions of unemployed.

As energy-prices keep going up, and as we start running into serious shortages of some natural materials, and as we face up to putting our large numbers of unemployed to work, I think we shall see a shift to a technology that will put man rather than the machine at the center of industrial economics. To employ, to conserve, and to recycle will be the battle-cry of the future.

Some of our proposed capital-intensive projects are already getting a more comprehensive scrutiny than ever before. The Kaiparowits electrical generating plant in Southern Utah is a good example. As you probably know, two of the utility companies sponsoring the project recently bowed out. There has been speculation that environmentalists' objections killed the project, and there is considerable bitterness in Utah about its cancellation.

In fact, it appears that economics, pure and simple, killed the project. Environmental safeguards would have added roughly $600 million to its costs, and that is a sizeable sum. But the project was based on the electrical companies' assumptions that power demand in Southern California and Arizona would increase at the rate of 4.5 to 11 percent per year, for the years 1975-1980.

The actual rate of increase in power demand now forecast for California by some highly qualified analysts is only 1.4 percent--one-third the lowest projection, and about one-eighth the highest. It's noteworthy that the two utility companies announced their withdrawal only one day before they would have had to go before the California public service commission to justify their rates. I have a hunch that the costs of the Kaiparowits project, coupled with the lower rate of increase in energy demand, would have made that electricity the most expensive in the United States.

Whatever the truth of this matter, I was most struck by one fact: The Kaiparowits project, costing $3.5 billion, would have created 3,135 jobs for people in Utah after it went into full operation. That works out to $1,116,000 for every job.

I must hasten to add, however, that the electricity made available by the project would make many future job-creating developments possible in California and Arizona. And, of course, the $3.5 billion construction project would have a substantial positive impact on jobs not only in Utah, but in many other states as well.

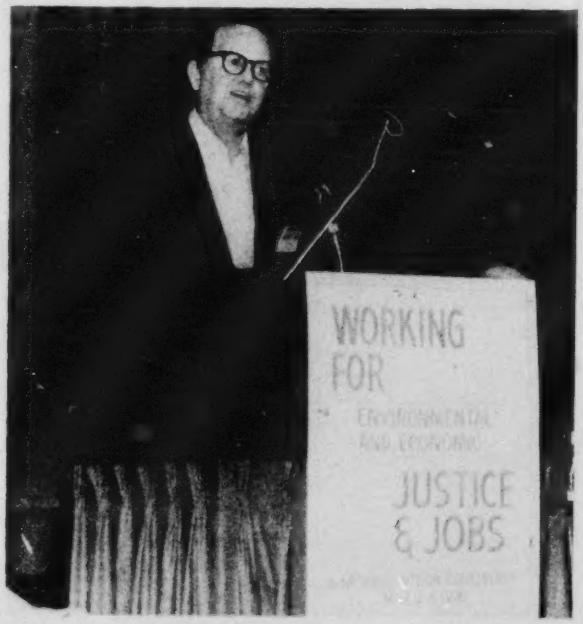
Providing job opportunities must become a more central concern in making decisions about our future, and about the quality of our human environment--not only jobs for today, but jobs for the future; not only jobs in our local area, but jobs throughout broad regions. The costs of unemployment are high, and need to be weighed thoroughly.

One other type of cost exemplified by the Kaiparowits proposal that has been ignored in the past is the cost to all of us, as well as to future generations, of degrading our natural heritage. In the area selected for the Kaiparowits project are some of the world's great natural treasures: Bryce Canyon National Park, Grand Canyon National Park, Zion National Park, and others. Pollution from the Kaiparowits project was certain to seriously reduce visibility in the area, and thus the value of these scenic vistas. Millions of us have already had the chance to enjoy them. Millions more would like to someday.

We don't have to go to Utah to find an example of the need to evaluate all the costs of development. Many of you here, and your families, like to hunt or fish, to camp or hike in the woods, to swim or lie on the beach, or to drive or boat to enjoy the out-of-doors. How much is that worth to you? Don't you agree that its value should be weighed before a developer moves ahead with a project that will diminish such opportunities? How about the farmer who fills in his wetlands to increase his arable land? Shouldn't he consider the cost of the wildlife lost and the cost to his neighbor downstream of the increased flooding he may have caused?

We can and we must weigh these costs, too--and I think our new environmental consciousness will help us do so. I think the environmental age will bring all of us humans--machinists, bird-watchers, Wall Street brokers, inner-city residents, truck-drivers, teachers, and astronauts--back into touch with a central fact of man's continuing existence: we remain dependent on our earth. We can manipulate it, convert its resources to our own benefit, and use our ingenuity to improve the quality of all our lives. But we can go too far, too fast--and one of the basic principles of ecology is that the symptoms of damage to an ecosystem do not show up until that damage is irreversible.

We must renew our sense of dependence upon the earth and learn to use it wisely, for the air, the water, the soil and the sun are the ultimate sources of all our wealth. Whatever temporary conflicts there may be between environmentalists and labor union members, I hope you will join us--for ultimately, a concern for the environment is inseparable from a concern for jobs, communities, and economic justice.



WILLIAM HUTTON, Executive Director, National Council of Senior Citizens

TIM SAMPSON, Citizens Action League, California

To introduce our next speaker, we have Henry McCusker, a retired UAW worker. UAW retirees don't fade away, they keep on organizing. He's the Vice President of the UAW Retiree Council, and a member of the Board of the National Council of Senior Citizens. Henry.

HENRY McCUSKER, International Retired Workers Advisory Council, UAW

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Your Chairman, in asking me my name this morning, said, "Have you got a middle name?" I said, "Yes, it's Brevity." Many, many times I have used this podium for some meetings that are generally similar to what is being held here today, getting people together around common objectives. The man I am about to introduce, in all probability, has much, much expertise in what you are meeting about here today. The man I am about to introduce, in all probability, could have been following a life-style that is much, much more remunerative than his present job. The man I am about to introduce, at one time in his career, served as a newspaper man, as a foreign correspondent, and covered 47 nations in the world in his job. He could have continued along those types of tasks and have been paid much, much more than he is being paid at the present time. But, he felt that there was something more important in life than just his own advancement. He spent much, much of his career now in the pursuit of goals on behalf of the senior citizens of the United States and the poor of the United States. During his career as the Executive Director of the National Council of Senior Citizens, he has seen brought to fruition the things that you are meeting here at Black Lake on now and that is the forming of coalitions amongst interested groups on objectives and goals. I know of no man in the United States that has done more to bring interested groups together than has Bill Hutton, the Executive Director of the National Council of Senior Citizens. So, I give you Bill Hutton.

WILLIAM HUTTON:

In the discussions in which you have been engaged, which focus on the demands of environmental protection in an era of severe unemployment and "no growth" in living standards of millions of Americans, it could be easy to get discouraged at the seemingly endless confrontations of fact--from one point of view or another.

Such discouragement could be expected to thrive in a national atmosphere in which the personality pulse-beat of our presidential candidates seems to matter much more than their knowledge of--of attention to--the basic issues of life. Or where a candidate's lack of experience of Washington and disdain for the federal concept of democratic government is considered by many to be a sufficient reason, in itself, for aspiring to the presidency.

But this is not a conference to breed frustration and despair! Working for environmental and economic justice and jobs is not for the faint-hearted or for those who are easily stymied. It is in the nature of a "Call to Arms!"--an opportunity for those who would be movers and shakers to prepare America for the world of tomorrow.

Most--if not all of us here today--will agree that the abolition of poverty and increased environmental protection rank as the highest social priorities of the immediate future. But we need to find the ways to work together to achieve these goals...and much of our understanding can only begin when we study things from the other person's point of view.

Fortunately, the organizers of this conference threw into the discussion the important third part of the equation--environment--jobs--and the community. And that leads to my part in this conference--initiating discussion on the ways we can stimulate community interest on a broad scale to create jobs, conserve energy and natural resources, and protect the environment.

Undoubtedly, the Black Lake conference has brought together those who express concern about unemployment and poverty---and perhaps even those who may actively support the policy of limiting economic growth to protect the environment!

All too frequently, some of the most enthusiastic among us have pugnaciously championed our particular points of view--absolutely convinced we were privileged to wear white hats while our opponents are doomed to wear

black hats.

Obviously, some areas of environmental protection or jobs for livelihood permit of little compromise...especially those concerned with our very survival.

But if we are honest with ourselves we must admit that most situations in conflict can be ameliorated or temporized without serious damage to principle. Solutions need not necessarily be black or white. Sometimes they can be grey.

And if the first prerequisite for understanding is information....particularly information which will enable us to understand the other person's point of view...it becomes necessary for all of us who would work with the community on these issues, not only to determine the sources from which we can receive adequate information, quickly---but to seek to ensure the quick flow of accurate information to all who can help us.

I understand this conference has attempted to focus on needed sources of information---but I know from the experiences of my own organization that good information is hard to find, hard to create and there never seems sufficient money around to produce it and reproduce it. It is our experience that information which comes easily, which is gloriously printed in exotic colors, is usually the information you don't want and you don't need.

If simple working people---or the unemployed---want to CHANGE THINGS, one of the very first things we must do is to organize coalitions in the community. This enables us to substitute dedicated enthusiasm for the missing ingredient of hard cash--which is the way management does it!

It is my intention then to outline some of the ways in which those of us who really care about these subjects can work together to achieve common goals.

To its credit, the environmental movement has made a significant contribution to the struggle for a more humane social order by forcing society to take a new look at many previously accepted patterns of economic and cultural behavior. In its most praise-worthy campaigns, the environmental movement has sought changes that are of great importance to working people. It can take credit for having reawakened society to the need for more stringent job-safety regulations.

It has added an important class dimension to the struggle for a cleaner environment by pointing out that it is the neighborhoods of the poor and working classes that suffer the worst effects from nearby industrial and chemical plants.

At the same time, many of those in the vanguard of the environmental movement--often themselves members of the upper classes (though they do not always recognize themselves as such) have often sought policies clearly detrimental and in some cases destructive, to the needs of the poor.

We must seek to develop those areas on which we can agree now. And if we are to meet the arguments of the economists and the business interests, we must develop the community coalitions to win the political battles which will determine the issue.

Maybe it is not possible to develop all this mutuality of interest as a consequence of one small conference and we should have more. It does seem to me that the ecologists need some help in fighting the economists. And organized labor sure could use some help in its efforts to persuade business to move in the direction of growth and jobs---though we may have to accept broader public input to policy decisions which say where and for what purpose.

The study group which I joined yesterday afternoon immediately after my arrival, focused its attention on the Humphrey-Hawkins bill. There was some disagreement--I thought it quite minor--but everyone seemed to recognize that publicly financed jobs are desperately needed, not only to reduce unemployment, but also to enable the Federal Government to carry out the vital programs of urban reconstruction that business, and the states, and the cities will not, or cannot, carry out!

But as bold and brave as it may be when we pass it in a year when there will be no Presidential veto, Humphrey-Hawkins is only the first step in our much-needed response to high, long-term unemployment or to the problem of hard-core structurally unemployed.

Sustained, high economic growth is also a pre-condition for the creation of a more equal society. I also believe--along with many environmentalists--that if we can work together while America makes one of its for-

ward thrusts against poverty and unemployment, we could significantly raise the levels of environmental protection.

Bayard Rustin, in a recent study, claimed it has long been an article of faith for conservative economists, that accelerated rates of growth are a chief cause of inflation. When conservatives have held the presidency, their advisors have encouraged fiscal and monetary policies aimed at slowing growth and increasing the jobless rate as a means of reducing the pace of inflation. This was the case of the Eisenhower Administration and the Nixon Administration, and it is now the case with the administration of Gerald Ford. The anti-growth movement has already made its impact felt in the debate over economic recovery that will occupy an increasing role in the Presidential election campaign.

And you have only to look at the timid and cautious proposals from the Congressional budget committees to realize that many Democrats seem to have forgotten the ringing cry of the late John F. Kennedy when he was attacking the slow-growth policies of Eisenhower: "A rising tide raises all the boats!"

All of us who believe that Government must function as an oasis in the desert of dependency and deprivation, are gravely concerned, not only that programs designed to meet human needs are not flourishing, but also that they are in danger of diminishing in size and adequacy.

A healthy rate of economic expansion is a precondition for the success of manpower and service programs that are directed to the special needs of the poor. Without substantial growth we will simply not have enough jobs for those who have undertaken training programs as a means of overcoming the effects of poor educational opportunity. Nor will Government have the resources to build the housing, support the medical services and upgrade the schools in the inner cities.

Those of us who have experienced them can testify that hard times do not evoke a national consensus for massive reform of anything---particularly environmental reform!

There are estimates that some 12,000-20,000 jobs have been lost due to plant closings and the like, mandated by stiffer pollution standards. On the other hand, environmentalists are quite right to point out that some 300,000 jobs have been created by anti-pollution projects, such as sewage treatment plants.

Nevertheless, the job of harmonizing environmental objectives with the need for economic development is a far more complex challenge than many of us suppose. Advocates of zero-growth have not yet explained satisfactorily to me how justice can be won for the very poor within this context of diminishing opportunity.

But, short of the achievement of the millenium, there is much progress that can be made by environmentalists, organized labor and community groups working together in effective coalitions for political and social change. The National Council of Senior Citizens, which I represent here today, is in itself an effective coalition. Begun in August of 1961 with a small ad hoc committee in Detroit, it is now an organization of more than 3,500 clubs, federations, with 3,500,000 members in those clubs. I can say that perhaps 1/3 of those people are trade union oriented. They come out of the Auto Workers, the Machinists, the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Steelworkers, the Painters, and allied trades growing year after year the labor movement is coming aboard to give their opportunity to the retirees of the labor movement and I can tell you it is very exciting to see them come in and bring such experience to the movement.

Another third would be out of the churches and synagogues, religious-oriented groups in which they've given a chance to those of 65 and over, they've given older people a chance to serve their nation. To be part of an untapped natural resource isn't good enough, they want to get in there and work. Another third would be recreation and social clubs, which we might refer to sometimes as the Boston Bingo Circuit. But, we've been able to get each of them to take an active role, take an interest in federal and state legislation and their community. We've been able to get them active in so many ways, and they themselves have set up coalitions themselves inside their communities so that inside 3,500 communities where the National Council of Senior Citizens is, there is undoubtedly an active labor force working with the labor force, with the churches, with the youth groups, so that they are working for the public good.

Those of you who have sat in study groups which have included senior citizens, many of whom are members of NCSC, must have noticed how knowledgeable they are about labor and the problems of the elderly. And those young people who also noted that these older Americans were sometimes defective in their knowledge of environmental protection, will be glad to know that our retirees have thoroughly enjoyed the conference and confess to having picked up a few points about environment from the youngsters. I hope we can continue to learn from each other.

But I also want the younger people to notice the tremendous enthusiasm which our older people are able to develop for the causes in which they believe. These enthusiasms have been translated over the years into remarkable legislative successes. Lyndon Johnson said: "Without the National Council of Senior Citizens, there would have been no Medicare". We were in the forefront of the fight for the Older Americans Act, for eight social security boosts, for pure air and clean water and the vote for the 18 year-olds. We recently led the fight for a complete Congressional turn-around supporting Section 202 Housing for the Elderly which will produce, we earnestly believe, over three billion dollars worth of senior citizen housing in the next three years.

Our clubs, located in most communities, will be glad to work with you on mutual campaigns. Contact them---write me if you cannot locate a club in your area---and help our older people learn more about environmental problems.

And, if you would succeed, try to bring their wonderful enthusiasm to your environmental task.
Come, if you can, to the Conrad Hilton Hotel in Chicago, Illinois, June 3-5 when some 5,000 delegates and observers will attend the first Constitutional Convention which NCSC has ever held outside Washington, D. C.

Catch our seniors in their open air demonstration for National Health Security in Grant Park at 2:00 pm on June 3!

Hard work and enthusiasm is absolutely essential for the much-needed social and political action which lies before us. But victory brings immense rewards.

Permit me to close with the words of an exciting 19th Century environmentalist--Sir Walter Scott who came from Kelso, in the Scottish border country, not far from my own home town in England.

He said: "Nature, I love---and next to Nature, Art
I warmed my hands before the fire of life
It sinks...and I am ready to depart...

Sound..Sound the clarion! Fill the fife!
To all the sensual world proclaim....
One crowded hour of glorious life
Is worth an age without a name!"

And for most of you, I believe, that little crowded hour of glorious life is just ahead.

Thank you.

INVOCATION

GEORGE BARTA, Sioux City American Indian Center, Iowa

TIM SAMPSON, Citizens Action League, California

We are fixing to start. Can you settle in and be ready. We have a lot of business to accomplish this morning. The Agenda Committee which met last night has invited George Barta to give an opening invocation.

GEORGE BARTA, Sioux City American Indian Center, Iowa

Thank you. As is traditional with Indian people, before I attempt to do what I am going to do, and really I am inadequate to do that, that I will say a few words about why we are here and I will make it brief, if you will bear with me.

First of all I want to thank the hosts for the opportunity to be here on behalf of my other Indian brothers and sisters--there were four of us here at the conference. We are passing out among you some of the thoughts of the Indian people. We didn't have very many copies so my brother is going to put one on each table, and I wish you would share that with each other.

We are concerned about some of the things that happened at the conference. We see the conference as a good thing, the start of something we hope is going to continue. I've never been to a conference with so many diverse groups in my whole lifetime, and I think it was amazing that we got through this conference as quietly as we did. I was really concerned at the lack of input and voice at times from some of the community groups, and some of us, the Indian people, the people from the Urban League and so on. I felt that maybe at a future time this could be resolved in a different way. I was concerned that many experts sat up here before us, said a lot of things, but they weren't participating, for the most part, clear through the conference or will not go back in our own home areas like we are going to have to do. On behalf of my Indian brothers and sisters, I am going to say that we are going to try to do those things.

We've had a very hard struggle over several hundred years. I don't mean to go into rhetoric, but I saw the same thing at this conference that we have been struggling to do, and that's to be heard or recognized. For many, many years Indian people were ignored and then we were tolerated. In a lot of areas now we are recognized or respected. I feel maybe the good that will come out of this conference is that maybe somewhere, inside, some people will do some soul-searching, and maybe they will start to respect and recognize us. Because we hold one of the most important resources. We are the unique group of this conference when you talk about ecology, that controls or should control hundreds of millions of acres of ground that eventually ends up to be the pollution from the cities. With adequate control on our most precious resource, along with the precious resources of the other groups here, if we could put those together, I am sure working collectively, we could resolve some of these problems that our country is in right now.

I want to say this: I have had many questions in the past two days regarding the fact that again two of our brothers were shot. Yesterday morning Russell Means and John Thomas were shot. At the last report, Russell Means is in stable condition in Yankton, South Dakota. John Thomas is still in very critical condition. John Thomas is one of the most effective organizers for the American Indian Movement. I believe and profess those same philosophies that are the reason that AIM was formed. We do the best we can, in the struggle, to try to teach the dominant society on the problems that face the Indian people across the country.

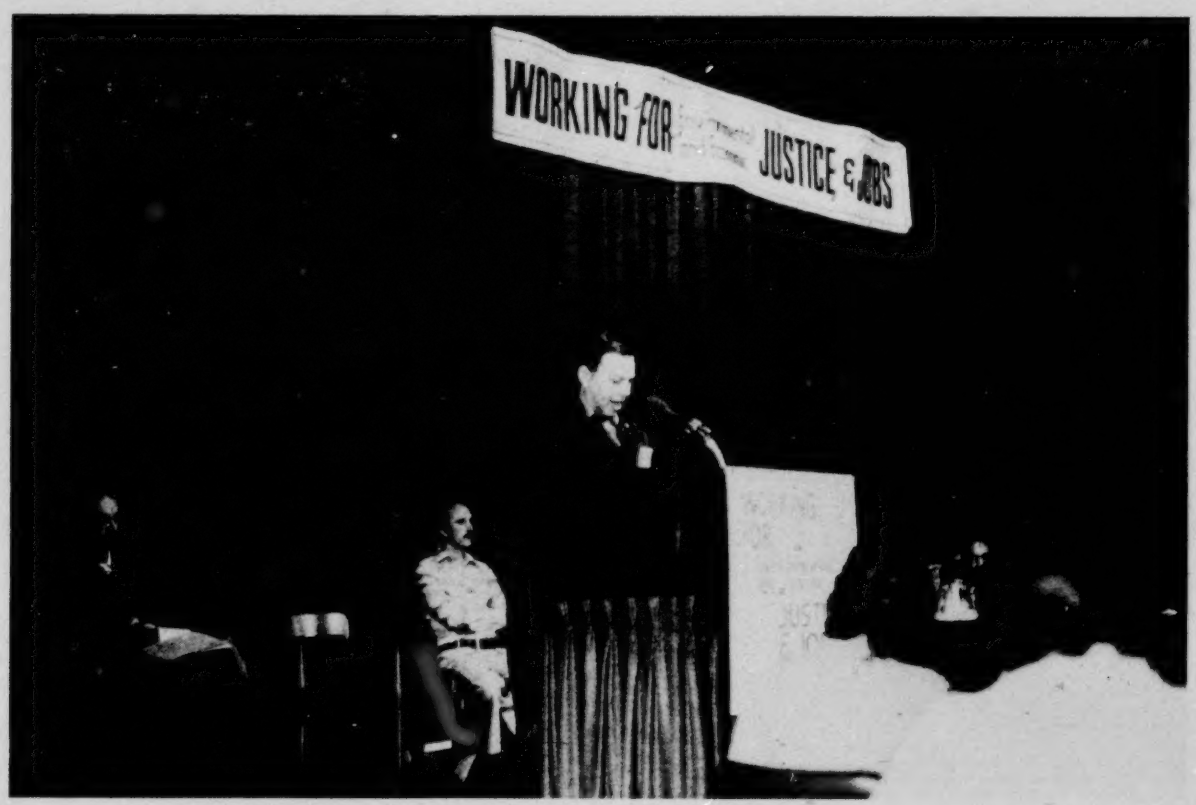
I am going to attempt to say a prayer. I didn't know if I could do that. I am not a spiritual leader. I do participate in our traditional ceremonies and so on. By brother Bill does, too. I called back and asked my brother Ruben Snake, who is a road man in the Native American Church if I could do that, and he said to go ahead. I want you to understand that if there was one thing that the Indian people missed at the conference and that is the lack of speaking to the Spirit in the morning and before we ate all that good food in the evening. We tried to do that. In the mornings we got up and we'd go off in the woods and pray for all of us. My brother did that. He's done that several times since he's been here. We want you to know that we feel that should be a part of everything we do. So I am going to attempt to say something here and I want you to bear with me and excuse me.

Grandfather, as humble as I am and as poor as I am, I would like to talk to you just for a few brief moments and ask that you bless all of us here at this conference. Grandfather, there are many people here at this conference and they are from all different walks of life. Grandfather, there were many things said at this conference and many actions taken. Grandfather, we hope that the action taken by the people at this conference is going to be good action, action to keep from hurting our Mother Earth. We know this is very precious to you. We know this hurts you when you see this happen. Grandfather, I want to apologize and ask for your

forgiveness, if sometimes during the conference I haven't shown the patience and the respect you have blessed Indian people with. Grandfather, I want to thank you for providing for us for those good people here who made it so comfortable for us while we were here--the food they provided. Grandfather, we didn't know they were here most of the time, but they were always making things good for us, and maybe some of us took them for granted, because we never saw them, but if we needed them, they were there. Grandfather, if we have abused them in any way, Grandfather, we want you to forgive us. Grandfather, when this conference is going to end, many people are going to be traveling, and we want you to bless those people, and we want you to help us get home safe to our families. Grandfather, we have a lot of problems. Again, one of our brothers was shot. We want you to help stop this, Grandfather, because this has to stop. We really sincerely want you to help us help these dominant people who sometimes don't understand where we come from, Grandfather. We really want you to do this, and then, Grandfather, I want to apologize to you if I am not talking to you in the right way. I am really saying this from my heart, in that I have respect for all the people here. Although we have differences, we want them to think about understanding Indian people and understanding the problems of our treaties because they alone can help us, Grandfather. We are powerless in this system to do anything without the help of all these good people here. Grandfather, I want to close this and ask you to bless all my relatives, all the relatives of all the people here, those good people back home, those good people in the unions, those good people in the environmentalist movement, in the communities, and my black brothers. Grandfather, I have noticed in this conference when we have been here, that there were four colors here, the four colors we have used for thousands of years. There was the white and the yellow and the black and the red. There were people here from those four colors. I want you to bless those four colors and all those people, Grandfather. This I ask in the name of the Great Spirit. Thank you.

TIM SAMPSON, Citizens Action League, California

Thank you, George for getting us started in the spirit of Black Lake. Now we have a report from the Agenda Committee which met last night. Mike Clark.



REPORTS AND SUMMATION

MIKE CLARK, Highlander Research and Education Center, New Market, Tennessee

The agenda committee met last night and discussed how an agenda could be put together that would take note of all that has happened here. The committee was composed of people selected from the core groups and from the various caucuses. The job of the Agenda Committee was to agree on a workable agenda for today. During the discussions we took note of how we've attempted over the last four days to put together a very fragile network of friendship and trust and understanding based on some very strong beliefs that we all have common areas where we can work together. We thought that was an extremely important thing to remember that we are just not dealing with the process of this conference but with the possibility of a new conference taking place in the future. We also took note of the limited amount of time we have this morning. Over 20 groups have asked that reports be given. We have only about an hour and a half in the schedule to hear all these reports. We also took note of the fact that a great number of people, not a large number, but quite a few people, have had to leave the conference early and would not be available today to take part in these discussions. Acknowledging all of these factors, the Agenda Committee unanimously recommends no resolutions be voted upon or adopted by this conference. We also recommend that the reports from the various groups and caucuses be given without debate. A third recommendation was that the agenda be broken down into two different parts: The first part dealing with what we called Process. That is, resolutions or reports which dealt with the conference internally and with the possibility of something new happening in the future. The second part dealing with issues that we felt in some ways should be addressed. I am going to read off to you the order of the agenda we are proposing. We made no attempt to rank these groups in any order except as whether or not they were a member of the Process or of the Issues part.

Process	Issues
Group 4	Clean Air
Group 15	Toxic Substances
Group 8	Core Group 6
Group 12	Energy Alternatives and Jobs
Group 9	Community Health and Safety
Group 14	Indian Caucus
Group 1	Group 7 - Native Peoples' Rights
	Environment and the Poor
	Womens Caucus
	Chicano Caucus
	Black Caucus
	Core Group 3 - Racism & Sexism
	Rural Caucus
	Coal Caucus

In addition after hearing a discussion of the various committee reports which recommended that future action was needed, the Agenda Committee set up a small committee which we decided to call "The Committee on Continuing Actions" and they have a report with some recommendations for future action. The fourth major part of the agenda would be a summary which would be led by Tim and a panel of participants who will be reporting on their reactions to the conference. Mr. Chairperson, I move the adoption of the report of the Agenda Committee.

TIM SAMPSON, Citizens Action League, California

Is there a second? (Seconded) Is there discussion on the adoption on the Agenda Committee's report which is before you? Are you ready for the question?

PARTICIPANT, Core Group 6

Mr. Chairman, speaking on behalf of Core Group 6, we feel that a valuable opportunity will be missed if this conference doesn't undertake to make some type of political statement about the importance of what went on here. We have prepared a resolution which we feel expresses both the letter and spirit of what has occurred at Black Lake. It is short, simple, has a strong political message. We feel that it could be supported without

conflict by the groups and individuals that are present here. I would propose that the recommendations by the Agenda Committee be amended to insert as Item 1 consideration of the following resolution which I will read:

> "We, the representatives of labor groups, environmental groups, and urban and rural community groups, who have gathered at Black Lake, Michigan, May 2 thru 6, resolve as we return to our communities and resume to our related struggles the following: That we shall no longer allow corporate and political powers to divide us and turn us against one another and that no longer shall we tolerate threats of environmental blackmail and similar reprehensible tactics, which they have devised to prevent us from working cooperatively for decent jobs and improved quality of life for all."

I move that consideration of this resolution be inserted as Item 1 and that the other items be renumbered.

TIM SAMPSON, Citizens Action League, California

Is there a second to the motion? (Seconded) Discussion is now on the amendment to the report of the Agenda Committee. Is there discussion? I would like to suggest to people, by the way, that it is this body that is going to make these decisions. You are welcome to discuss before you vote, but then you will vote and decide. Is there discussion? Are you ready for the question on amending the Agenda Committee report? If you want to be recognized, come to a microphone.

PETER HARNIK, Environmental Action, Washington, D. C.

I just want to point out that we should be careful about adding these resolutions. Once we add a general resolution, we will more than likely start adding specific resolutions. We may be called upon to make some very difficult decisions about which ones to be accepted, which ones to be rejected. If any are rejected, that could be a very divisive, debilitating beginning of our new relationships.

DAN LEAHY, Human Affairs Program, Utilities and Energy Project, Cornell University

My name is Dan Leahy. I represent Core Group 12. I rise to oppose the motion. I think there are several points that we've discussed in the past days why no resolution should be passed at this conference. One, as pointed out by a brother from Canada, is trust in the resolution process. We have to understand that a lot of people are not here and if they see a National Action Conference taking a position on something that they are not a part of and yet were a part of previously, they won't trust that resolution process. They won't feel they can come back again without some other resolution being passed. Second thing, some participants who came to this conference understood there would be no resolutions passed and as a result they came with that understanding. I think that would jeopardize the possibility of the coalition of our groups if a resolution was passed. I think that the valuable lines of communication opened here should be continued. They will be closed off if resolutions are passed. The main thing to understand is that there is no reason to act too quickly. We've had a good coalition here and resolutions might endanger that. We should act slowly and think about the future.

TIM SAMPSON, Citizens Action League, California

Are you ready for the question on whether to amend the Agenda Committee report? When you are ready for the question, you are supposed to say, "READY!" (Ready) Don't just sit there. On the question of the amendment. All in favor of amending the Agenda Committee report, say "aye." (Aye.) All opposed to amending the Agenda Committee report, say "nay". (Nay.) The nays have it. The amendment fails. The question is on the report. Are you ready to vote? (Ready.) The question is on adopting the report of the Agenda Committee. All in favor, say "aye." (Aye.) Opposed? (No response.) We will proceed with the agenda under the rules as outlined in the report.

I would like to ask, at this time, that all the people who are making reports, Core Groups and Issue people, that you come up onto the platform here so we can have you use this microphone and go one by one, and we can have those reports rapidly. Will all who are giving reports come up here?

While you are coming up, I get my chance to warm you all up a little bit so that you can listen to these reports in a proper spirit. I was having breakfast this morning with some Building Trades folk. Working as I was at breakfast, I remembered a program that some environmentalists told me about how to conserve water. What you do is put a brick in your toilet tank. What I hope people learned at this conference is: before you go around putting bricks in toilet tanks, try to get the Bricklayers Union involved. They will be with you on it! Also, the Brickthrowers Union, of which I am a charter member! We could support that. Yes.

In dealing with these reports, I would like to have all of you function in the best tradition as organizers. I don't know how many of you know what the most important tool of an organizer is. Does anybody know what the most important tool of an organizer is? The most important tool of an organizer is their ears! Organizing is a process which is done with the ears. I am an agitator. That is done with another part of the body. So I would hope you would assume the organizer's stance and listen organizationally with all of your organizer's skill to the reports that are coming up. I would like the people giving the reports to remember that we have very little time. We have a lot of work to do. I hope that people will exercise discipline. As I was taught at the Baptist Ministerial Alliance, when I was receiving my compensatory education, when your time is almost up I will be standing here beside you. So when I stand up it is time for you to sit down.

Core Group 4
ANDREA GOLDMAN, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington, D. C.

I will try to make this short. I am Andrea Goldman. I am with the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Washington, D. C.

For three days we have heard America singing. Our country sings a strange tune. Sometimes you can hardly hear it at all and sometimes, like the last three days, it builds to a moving if not always harmoneous crescendo.

America is an idea perpetually in the act of becoming. For the past three days we have seen some movement in that process of becoming.

We community, environmental and labor people--have gotten as one of our core members put it, good training knowing the built-in priorities (or prejudices) of other groups and because of this we will be better able to function when we go back home. I think for most of us this happened in our Core Groups where people, be they representatives of community, environmental or labor groups, were also people. That, while sounding simple, is so very fundamental--people reaching out to others for help and understanding and offering those precious resources in return. There was a lot of giving in our group as we change from faces with name tags to people with complaints and frustrations, in need of help and compassion and equally important, people with strength and sometimes even power, to share with others.

A lot of our talk centered on short-term vs. long-term needs. From a UAW-CAP leader, "I'm worried about where my people are going to work when you close that plant." From a Cincinnati community leader, "I'm worried about how my people are going to heat their homes." From a Florida environmentalist, "I'm worried about land use legislation." I sometimes forget, while I am pushing for that piece of legislation to be put into effect two years from now, you have to deal with people surviving today. Core Group has helped refresh my memory.

For most of us, the blinders were pushed back a little, some light came in, and we seem to appreciate what perhaps we had known before but forgotten for awhile--each concern is legitimate. What good to find adequate employment and housing if there is no energy to run the plants and heat the homes? What good to run the plants and heat the homes if we can't go outside to breathe the air? The issue is not today vs. tomorrow. For if we continue to provide for today as though our resources are unlimited, there will, in fact, be nothing left for tomorrow.

The road to understanding was probably different for each of us. Some need physical reminders like the beauty of this setting, some just need to hear about the loneliness and the frustrations of some of the other groups, who have very little resources to work with.

I will move from poetry to the concrete. We would like to see a copy of the proceedings out as soon as possible so we can share it with our constituencies. We recommend a small task force be set up to work together on a handbook for legal tools to improve on-the-job environment. I would like to see the UAW live up to the initial promise made the first night to keep these kinds of meetings going at the local level.

(The following is taken from the written report prepared by Core Group 4 and completes their report.)

The road to understanding was probably different for each of us. Some needed physical reminders. The beauty of this very setting and the CAP leader's pride in it were a reminder that unionists also are people and share a love of the land. Some needed silence--like the silence of some of our community people which spoke loudly and clearly to the rest of us of their feelings of isolation and frustration. We took time out to listen to those frustrations. The worker in Virginia organizing citizens against strip mining with $150 in his treasury:

"Have you incorporated as a non-profit organization?"

"It costs $100."
"Have you put pressure on the media to get your message across?"
"I tried to get them to do a feature article on our organization and the local paper told me to buy ad space."

From this came a greater appreciation of what some are up against. And while we didn't solve any of the problems, maybe the very fact that we cared and wanted to listen was a small first step in joining hands. And finally, some needed noise--the noise of an alarm clock to get them to the sessions on time.

From all of this came the glimmerings of an understanding of what an environmental life-line really is. It is, among other things:

- -environmentalists getting off that one-way street and supporting other social change organizations, supporting labor legislation
- -environmentalists reaching out to others by making their case in plain direct language to those who don't intuitively think of themselves as environmentalists
- -labor leaders helping government redefine "productive" work to include community organizers and educators and para-legal and para-medical workers
- -community leaders supporting Hawkins-Humphrey and cooperating with local environmentalists to defeat the "dirty dozen"
- -all of us, community, environment and labor representatives, achieving a better understanding and appreciation of differences in style so that we can get on with working on those substantive areas that bind us together

In the words of one of our Core Group members: "Perhaps some day our individual agendas will bring us closer together than cooperation in relatively distant political actions. However, until we meet in the streets, on the picket line, or in the courts or corporate board rooms with a common cause, I leave with respect for unionists and environmentalists and with a certain confidence in our common future."

What can we do when we leave here to get closer to that future? Of immediate use will be a copy of the conference proceedings to share with our constituencies. In addition, we recommend the U. A. W. sponsor a small task force to come together for one week to work up a handbook of specific legal tools and action approaches to improve and/or correct on-the-job environments. The task force should represent legal, environmental, labor, health and community expertise. And finally we urge that, somewhere down the line, the U. A. W. continue to nourish the environmental life-line by providing support for our counterparts at the local level to share similar experiences and to hear, as we did, America singing.

Core Group 15
MIMI BECKER, League of Women Voters of Ohio

Mimi Becker. I will leave out the poetry and start on the process.

The Core Group was balanced from the groups participating and as a result we have a consensus report that gives priority to the development of on-going processes, the identification and support of issues, primarily legislative, that we can work together on, and the beginning of the processes to work with the reallocation of the nation's resources to achieve environmental and economic justice and jobs.

On the issue of developing on-going processes, we recommend that local, state, and national representatives of labor, community groups, and environmental interests do the following:

1. Meet and begin to develop understanding of each other's goals and purposes.
2. Identify and develop action strategy on common objectives.
3. Learn to recognize that the right to argue and disagree is an inherited American right. The right to carry a grudge is not. All groups need to learn to disagree on some issues and work together on others.
4. We need to establish communication both vertically and horizontally within our organizations and between them, so the support of common objectives can actually occur.
5. We need to develop an information base on issues which includes all sides of the questions. Find ways to cooperate in educating our constituencies on the issues that are common, so the common goals can be identified. (For example, we might develop joint continuing education programs at the grassroots level with shared faculty and shared constituencies. We might begin to develop some jointly prepared publications that can be used by all of us.)

In order to understand how to work together better we need to know how various groups function. We need

written descriptions of how participating organizations make decisions. The table of organizational structure is important if you wish to be able to get into the organization to begin the process of working together. We recommend that a workshop or task force be appointed to develop this information base and provide for its distribution.

We need to encourage our members at grassroots levels to participate in political process at the community level where environmental and growth decisions are usually made--this includes mutual responsibility to see that all interests are represented on various decision-making bodies, such as planning commissions, advisory boards, and so forth. We had a number of specific recommendations on identification of legislation that we work together. I will not read them. But they are in the report and I think that we should give attention to those as we begin to develop those processes.

(The following is taken from the written report prepared by Core Group 15 and completes their report.)

On the issue of legislation, we believe that the following pending bills were of interest to the three groups: Land Use, Strip-mining, Full Employment Act, Toxic Substances, Flexible Work Hours, Clean Air Act, and the Agency for Consumer Advocacy.

In addition, the Clean Water Act, Highway Trust Fund, Land Use, Energy Conservation and Utility rates are areas for further action.

Areas of conflict between the groups, particularly between environmentalists and labor are: Part-time employment, Bottle Bill, Nuclear Safeguards, and Solid Waste Management.

Suggestions for action for the conferees fall into two headings:

1. At the conference. Resolutions for signatures, will be circulated on the Clean Air Act, Full Employment Act and Toxic Substances. These resolutions will be sent to appropriate legislators. An article on Solid Waste Management will be submitted to the newspaper for information purposes.

2. Back home. Conferees will exchange information between groups asking for support on specific legislation, form coalitions at local levels to talk jointly to local, state and national elected officials, write letters to your elected representatives, using materials provided at the conference by various groups. (i. e. Clean Air Act, Toxic Substances), write the National Wildlife Federation located at 1412 Sixteenth St., N. W.; Washington, D. C. 20036 for the free Conservation Report which gives an excellent weekly status report of environmental-energy legislation.

An area not discussed (which is equally important) was the entire regulatory process.

Finally we recognize the need for reallocation of the nations' resources to achieve environmental and economic justice and jobs, via such mechanisms as: equitable tax reform and the right to a job, corporate responsibility for alternate job opportunities for the displaced through process change or obsolescence, waste management, energy conservation and consideration of resources.

An optional utilization of the capability of the work force through alternate work schedules and inclusion of older people, the handicapped and others presently discriminated against in the work force.

Action From Core 15

Since the Resource Recovery Act of 1970 is about to expire, new and more comprehensive legislation is urgently called for. Members of Congress need to be convinced of the widespread concern for solid waste problems and legislative remedies.

Therefore, we should resolve to contact our Congressman and the House Subcommittee on Transportation and Commerce in particular, of the need for a strong, Comprehensive Solid Waste Law.

This revised bill is expected to focus on four major issues: hazardous waste management, combating the "leachate" problem, state level solid waste planning, and "loan guarantees" for resource recovery facilities. Disposal charges and waste reduction techniques will almost certainly be dropped from the draft bill in the final bill. Perhaps you would like to address your remarks to these deletions.

Also the House Science and Technology Committee Subcommittees on the Environment and Atmosphere is holding hearings on HR 12380, a bill designed to encourage increased research, development and demonstration of resource energy recovery from solid waste. If it passes the committee, it will probably be attached to the above mentioned Commerce Committee bill.

In the Senate: the Public Works Committee is considering S2150 (Sen. Jennings Randolph D. WV) Major provisions include:

Grants to States to develop and implement solid waste management practices
Prohibition of open dumping
Suggested guidelines for all solid waste management practices
Guaranteed loans for resource recovery facilities
Minimum standards for federal procurement of recycled goods
Grants to stimulate markets for recovered resources.

There probably are problems in these bills for community, labor, and environmentalists. We suggest that this would be a good place to start discussion on a solution to these problems. Send for copies of the bills now and go to work.

A toxic substances control bill (S3149) was approved 60-15 by the Senate on March 26. It authorizes the EPA to require manufacturers to test new and existing chemicals for health and environmental hazards. Chemical manufacturers will be required to notify the EPA ninety days before production of a new chemical, at which time the manufacturer must submit test data. EPA can regulate or prohibit distribution of substances posing an unreasonable risk to health or the environment.

H.R. 10318, similar to the Senate measure, has been approved by the House Commerce Subcommittee on Consumer Protection and Finance and is waiting action by the full committee. It faces strong opposition by the chemical industry and the administration which will attempt to weaken many of the key provisions.

The National Cancer Institute has estimated that 60% to 90% of cancer is environmentally induced, and that the "hot spots" for cancer in this country are in areas where the chemical industry is most concentrated. Studies of workers in such areas indicate alarming effects from their exposure to toxic substances. For example, one million current and former American asbestos workers who still survive, fully 300,000 have been projected to die of cancer, a death rate 50% higher than that of the population. Let them know you are no longer willing to be the testing ground for determining--15 or 20 years from now--whether the substance to which you have been exposed causes cancer or genetic damage; that testing such effects should be required of manufacturers before distribution of the substance.

Write to members of the House Interstate & Foreign Commerce Committee supporting HR 10318. The committee must report the bill to the full house before May 15 budget deadline for authorization in the next fiscal year.

Core Group 8
PAUL DANELS, National Urban League, New York City.

I am Paul Danels. I am from National Urban League and Core Group 8. Core Group 8 developed a process which we were able to achieve the feeling of solidarity. We began by laying out our personal agendas and fighting about what we should talk about. We somehow were able to see that we had to stop fighting and start talking about something, so we decided to talk about the Hawkins-Humphrey bill.

We thought that it sounded like there might be something in it for everyone in the core group to relate to. We each said what the Hawkins-Humphrey did and did not do for each of us. Somehow, although our interests seemed at first different, we agreed that the same political climate was needed for any of us to work on our personal agendas. In short, we fought, we talked, and somehow found that this process yielded solidarity.

Core Group 12
THEODORE HARLEY, Action for a Better Community, Inc., Rochester, New York

My name is Theodore Harley. I worked with a fine core group and perhaps one of the most well balanced core groups at the conference. I would like to say to you that some very important discussion took place among the 19 members of the core group who represented labor, environment, the community, the church, public interests, and the whole spectrum I think of various interests that we find in our respective communities. We've begun in this national action conference some very important discussions on things which ought to be discussed in our next national action conference. To emphasize some of the points that were agreed upon by the core group, I'd like to just read them off again as they were printed in our conference newsletter yesterday. I would like to re-emphasize those so that it would give you a perspective of the kind of important questions that were discussed in Core Group 12: These are five points of discussion for our next national conference. I thought I would mention that because I think it is important that we do have a follow-up conference. If we do

not pass any resolutions, we know that it is going to be a very positive chance that we're going to have another conference. The following points:

1. The common problem of society is the concentration of wealth.
2. The control of the production system should be democratized.
3. The National Coalition of issue groups should be developed to bring our platform to the political system.
4. The National Debate should be conducted on the merits of corporate capitalism vs. economic democracy.
5. There should be a guarantee of full employment.

TIM SAMPSON, Citizen Action League, California

I want people to know that we are holding these reports to the time that the groups requested and were given by the Agenda Committee last night. This is not an arbitrary thing. They asked for two or three or four minutes, and that's what I'm holding them to because that's what they were given.

Core Group 9
DEBORAH HOWARD, Massachusetts Audubon Society, Lincoln, Massachusetts

I am Deborah Howard from the Massachusetts Audubon Society and I want to read a consensus from the people in Core Group 9.

Corporations exert an undue political control over our nation's economic and environmental policies. We believe that environmental, labor, and community groups can unite for the advancement of specific goals which lessen corporate dominance and encourage the just distribution of wealth and power in our society. These goals include the following: A national health plan, full employment, development of an efficient and acceptable transportation system, toxic substances control, strengthening and enforcement of OSHA, promotion of new neighborhood enterprises including cooperatives, developing of non-polluting renewable energy sources and encouragement of energy conservation, formulation and implementation of a national land use and rural development policy to aid the farm worker and the family farmer, adequate aid for needy people including food stamp programs, greater citizen control over use of natural resources by corporations and government, strong health and housing programs for inner city neighborhoods. Toward these goals we urge community, labor and environmental groups to share their skills and resources on local, state, and national levels. Core Group 9 wants to thank the UAW and the friendly people who have made our stay at this beautiful place so pleasant.

Core Group 14
PAULINE ALEXANDERSON, League of Women Voters of Michigan

I am Pauline Alexanderson. I am representing the League of Women Voters of Michigan.

Core Group 14 believes that valuable lines of communication have been established during these past few days, and recognizes that to strengthen them, any resolutions must be deferred until a future conference. We agree that there is a need to pursue harmonious relations and improved understanding between environmental, labor, and community groups. We recognize the need to discuss and disperse conference ideas at the local level with the development of more concrete planning in areas of agreement. We believe there is a need for a future conference similar to this to deal with the above. At such a future conference, we think a possibility of agreement exists in the following areas of concern: clean air and water, neighborhood blight, workplace environment, energy alternatives, health, adequate housing, community consideration of the problems of the urban and rural poor and of minority groups, special problems of the elderly, compatability of full employment and a quality environment. Finally, we recommend that a planning committee be continued for a future conference. To insure continuity, the committee should be composed of some original committee members from this conference and new people that would have been drawn from conference participants.

Core Group 1
VIRGINIA CARNEY, Urban Environment Conference, Washington, D.C.

I am Virginia Carney here with the Urban Environment Conference.

Core Group 1 felt immediately that we would focus on the process rather than on the issues believing that if the process is developed properly it will take care of the issues. We established as our goal to develop a strategy which will bring about cooperative effort of groups back home. We felt the need to find a common denominator, something tangible to show where we go from here. Everyone felt that the need for an educational process is

great, that through that educational process you can develop an awareness and an understanding of the problems we have discussed here. This need must be taken care of on the local level. In other words, everything we learned here must be passed on. So as an action plan, Core Group 1 developed the following suggestions:

1. That we go back home and establish working state conferences, that is, state conferences where you work. Based on this kind of a program that we are seeing here, now if a state program is not your bag, perhaps that can be adjusted to regional or local levels. The idea of the working state conference is to set patterns for continuing community level action. In these workshops we would suggest developing action guidelines, communications that will develop close cooperation and the important thing--trust --between the groups. We would suggest that issues be selected very carefully and that the focus of the conferences be on issues that will unite us.
2. The second suggestion is that participants in this conference be encouraged to go back home to encourage their members to participate in political and legislative coalitions.
3. Bi-annual conference to appraise results of the two years in between the conferences and develop a commitment to the future. We have a petition in the rear where we would like to ask you, if it is within your capabilities, to sign and pledge to put on a state conference when you go home following these guidelines. We would also like to thank the UAW for being the perfect host.

(The text of the petition follows. For information on signatures, contact Virginia Carney).

PETITION FOR FUTURE ACTION

This conference on "Working for Environment and Economic Justice and Jobs" was designed to promote positive action that reflects the interests of all conference participants while stimulating their future commitment to the conference goals. To this end, Core Group 1 offers the following petition:

WHEREAS this national conference seeks to define current issues relating to jobs and the environment in order to develop specific ways for unions, environmental groups and other community organizations to work together for environmental quality and economic justice, and

WHEREAS this conference was called to open lines of communication among labor, environmental and community groups, and

WHEREAS this conference was not held in anticipation that the coalitions and communications among groups would end at noon today,

NOW THERE BE IT RESOLVED that we, the undersigned participants shall pledge their support to future efforts by serving as catalysts for working conferences on a state level by signing the pledge of commitment which follows.

"I will serve as a catalyst to develop a working conference to:

Explore the problems of trade unions, environmental groups and other community organizations represented at the conference as we face the conflict between jobs and the environment.

Analyze the broad economic, political and social forces which underlie these problems.

Assemble resources and factual information on specific issues that would help determine the consistency of both job preservation and job creation with environmental quality.

Provide opportunities for us to reflect on our conference experiences while working on issues related to employment and the environment.

Serve as a learning forum where we can sharpen skills useful in building action programs or coalitions at home.

Develop positions, tactics and strategies for cooperative education and action programs that focus on the preservation and creation of jobs for a quality environment at home.

Begin building information networks, liaisons and coalitions among participants that will support programs related to jobs and the environment on the local, state and regional level to improve the quality of life and achieve economic justice for all people."

ADDITIONS

A number of Core Groups developed written reports only which were not presented orally during this reporting session. They are included here for the record.

Core Group 3

Bunyan Bryant, University of Michigan and Barbara Reid Alexander, MSEL, Convenors. Philip Boxell, University of Michigan; Stuart Brandborg, Urban Environment Conference; Hank Cole, Committee for Jobs and the Environment; Marcia Eider, Florida Defenders of the Environment; Deloras Knight, UAW; Karl Limvere, North Dakota Farmers Union; George Rankins, Portland Urban League; Martha Rhyne, SALT; Winston Rudolph, Urban League of Greater Miami; Joseph Schatz Conservation Council of North Carolina; Ann Townsend, National Recreation and Parks Association; Bill Walker, Alliance for Food; Lucky Wentworth, Environmental Action Foundation; Scott Zierten, Committee for Jobs and the Environment-IAM Local 437.

The Core Group met on four full occasions with one meeting missed due to Commoner's speech and the last morning many missed, while the rest of the group completed evaluation forms. The four meetings were a progression of distinct phases of introduction, setting of an agenda, emergence of racial conflict and finally an effort to reconcile differences.

The Sunday evening and Monday morning meetings were taken up by preliminary discussions on each member's interest and preferred agenda. During the Sunday meeting people filled out sheets with their name, favorite books and films, thoughts on the enjoyable and displeasing aspects of their respective jobs, and reasons for attendance at the conference. The sheets then were taped to each person's chest and people began to circulate and read each other's sheet. After this non-verbal exchange of information, people gathered in groups of two, then four, eight and as a whole to express their desires for the direction of the core group in the four day period.

The Monday meeting served to voice an attempt to distill common principles and objectives for the group. Some argued that a principle of common exploitation should be recognized by the group. While the sense of the group favored this principle, others pointed out that labor unions for one cannot always forego their responsibility to labor for a better environment. That conflict is healthy for labor and for the coalition in order to closely examine the issue offered as a rejoinder. With the understanding that no one wishes to lose power and that decision-making takes place on several levels for every group and its constituents, the group tried to join the issues: how does one manipulate the decision-making process to force a real and honest alternative to one proposed to damage the environment and oppress labor and community groups?

Jobs and the environment are never either/or. It is a tradeoff and one must come up with a suitable "sweetener" for everyone. Though one should perhaps start on a community level, it is not always merely an elective political process. The Farmers' Union employs its power throughout the political spectrum. However, when this does happen, no one group--labor, environmentalists, community--can be lumped together. Each group has a character and interest of its own--the UAW from the AFL-CIO, the Urban League from the NAACP and the Sierra Club from the Urban Environmental Conference. Finally, the location was expressed to not forget that when such eminent authorities as Barry Commoner speak at the conference he is not selling a proposal to a city councilman at 6 P.M. after a long day. Thus, we must keep the lofty as well as the pragmatic interests in appropriate perspective.

The third meeting of the group began with an air of joviality but soon was beset with a serious and candid discussion of racist and sexist innuendo and sabotage of the agenda of the meeting.

The meeting began with a sincere question as to what is wrong with labor's viewpoint from the environmentalist's perspective. The consensus was that nothing is wrong with labor; that each group has a constituency which predetermines policy. The most one can expect of another group is to educate with the insight that personal feelings cannot be changed. The key, therefore, is direct, personal access to another's group. Unfortunately some environmentalists fail to realize that labor and community people must be approached on their own terms. An example is pesticides, according to one member of the group, his constituency was urged to avoid pesticides because of their adverse ecological effects. The appeal would have been much more successful if an understanding of the farmer's agriculture and economic needs had been integrated into the request.

The group proceeded to discuss other aspects of how to approach problems and get people together. A strong feeling that despite the necessity of the experts such as Barry Commoner, there is definite and substantial need for the "renaissance generalist" who can grasp the essential facets of the myriad of complex issues. The generalist may be most useful on the local, state or regional level where expertise is not readily available and one to one communication prevails.

Returning to a discussion on the interaction of the three groups, a somewhat sad and maybe even bitter feeling was expressed that farmers, labor, and community people often help environmentalists in their plight, but the favor is not returned. Certainly, if environmentalists wish to have or maintain the support of labor, community groups and farmers, then they must respond in a fair and equitable manner. Finally, several cases were cited during the conference where environmentalists had harshly attacked labor. Specifically, some environmentalists had severly criticized labor representatives for their lack of knowledge on alternative means of energy. The group recommended that the environmentalists be reprimanded for their arrogance and that of those in the case who attended the workshop an apology should be extended to the labor people. Thus, an effort to create a favorable climate for resolution of the problems was set by the Core Group.

A request was made to return to the agenda at this point. The following discussion stirred serious concerns of racism resulting from the cavalier way of several of the members treated the agenda. The assertions and discussion presented the most insightful and hopefully instructive dialogue of the Core Group.

The discussion began with a listing of interests which included: ghettos, national energy, policy, the Hawkins-Humphrey Act, nuclear power, national health care, national food policy, population and sex education, strip mining, land use, toxic chemicals and transportation policy. The intent was then to decide if the group agreed or disagreed over each of the topics. In the absence of a definition for each topic on which to form an opinion, the group soon became embroiled in a simplistic and mocking discussion of the topics. Remarks were made about "gals" and "ghettos" with people peering out of their eyes toward the respective stereotyped members and then laughter abounded. Exception was taken to what appeared to be flagrant sexism and racism and a failure to earnestly deal with the issues. Some apologized for their attitude toward the agenda but explained that they would not deal seriously with an agenda that expected positions on topics of a few words. Others expressed that their remarks were at the least in bad taste and that they meant no harm. The charge though was vigorously pursued. On the one hand it was felt that not enough screaming was happening at the conference, while on the other hand some minority members believed it was critical to assert the existence of racism, but that the extent of it may be overstated. The group came to realize that we do trip on laughter and subtle racism and that such actions seriously preclude potential coalition-building of minorities for environmental concerns. Still some in the group contended that it was condescending to attack "liberals" for the sake of naming them so. Some felt that assumptions were at the base of the conflict--whether they be assumptions about who lives in a ghetto, works for change or seeks material wealth. The meeting ended with an expression that however futile at least people laid their feelings out in the open and others answered in a like manner. Perhaps this is one step toward achieving solidarity.

The final session of the Core Group reflected on the previous day's intense controversy and attempted to establish recommendations for the fall conference. Generally, people believed the group confronted issues that were not met head on by the conference in respect particularly to racist attitudes. Initially, the group discussed the possibility of reporting on the personal experiences of each member. However, the only experience discussed was Karl Limvere's, which is articulated far more eloquently in his own statement, than can be stated in the minutes.

The group did decide on a few recommendations for the conference: 1) that the planners of the conference be encouraged to have another national conference of this nature within a year; 2) that the issue of racial and sexist conflict be raised as herein discussed; 3) that environmentalists be urged to try to understand that the conference is about <u>people</u>. That is, regardless of whether one is concerned about nuclear energy, the bottle bill, or inner city air pollution, environmentalists should see these problems in the context of how they affect the poor, the minority, the entire populace and not as an isolated phenomena.

<u>Core Group 5</u>

The members of Core Group 5 have determined, after much discussion and attempting to reach a concensus, specific recommendations for groups that identify with particular interests such as environment, labor and grassroots. The recommendations of Core Group 5 are the following:

1. There is a need for the development of a national debate to expose national issues relating to the environment, labor, and the community at large.

2. There is a need to have a second conference to deal with the further development of localized and national strategies and also to make it possible to continue the communications between groups and individuals attending the Conference.

3. It has become evident that the identification of who the enemy is has been made---the economic and political systems that control and utilize the national resources.

4. It is clear that people do not have a share in the decision-making process that create socio-economic, political, and educational conditions and furthermore only a few interests and individuals make the decisions. Certain leaders are not accountable to people such as in the Mahoning River Case.

5. It is clear that there is "economic and industrial blackmail" oppressing people.

6. People should not be placed in a position of making impossible decision (i. e. the environment or the job).

Core Group 7

Areas where common agreement were reached by Core Group 7.

Core Group 7 isolated a number of problem areas where the people from labor, environmental, farm and community thought that common action could be taken to solve problems. Common action was defined as "the high potential for an organizational interest in the issue and the capacity to mobilize groups of constituents, a proper utilization of coalition and member resources, and a high potential for a successful resolution."

Areas where common group programs were seen as feasible and where it was recommended that the major groups work together included:

1. Utility rate reform in such categories as rate bases, rate structure, public ownership, improved regulation of monopolies, citizen oversight on utility regulation.

2. Tax reform including redistribution of wealth, changes in the regressive tax system, improvement in urban taxing structures, farm taxing including estate tax, changes in tax loopholes and reduced encouragement of corporate moves, and improved taxing of multi-national corporations.

3. Adoption of a national food policy. Develop an alliance for meeting consumer and farmer needs, reducing energy and pesticide use and reliance, stabilizing farm prices and programs which protect the farm and land resource, anti-corporate farm legislation, land reform.

4. Adoption of a full employment policy including consideration of labor-intensive work promotion, adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment, jobs for those willing and able to work, reducing economic blackmail potential.

5. Adoption of programs to reduce city problems especially excessive energy use in housing through renovation and redevelopment programs, neighborhood improvement and other methods.

6. Adoption of national health legislation including health protection programs, health maintenance programs and health care programs recognizing the fact that ninety per cent of all cancer is environmentally related and that health is affected by air pollution, working conditions and other factors.

7. Encourage a national transportation policy which emphasizes low cost, low energy uses such as railroads and mass transit.

8. Expand and improve national resource planning for air, land, water and minerals.

9. Improve public education in the above matters.

10. Support municipal waste water management programs and encourage more rapid construction and use of appropriated funds.

11. Respect Indian and minority rights.

The group felt that the common activities of labor, environment and community organizations would be a part of a "peaceful revolution".

Core Group 11

OVERVIEW

If we are to avoid major conflicts among the three groups represented at the *WEJ* Conference, then each group must be sensitive to the divergent needs of the others. Environmentalists must be particularly sensitive to the financial burdens placed on low and middle income groups by many of their programs. In addition, community and labor groups should realize that environmental concerns are in the long-term interest of everyone.

COALITION BUILDING

There are major areas of unity among labor, environmental and community interests. If these groups are to work together to form politically powerful national and state coalitions, then they must realize that coalitions will be built around the areas of unity that exist. Included among the areas of unity are:

- --Defeat of common political enemies
- --Concept of full employment (Hawkins-Humphrey bill with amendments)
- --Toxic substances bill
- --Greater citizen participation in the development of transportation policy
- --Food concerns (food stamp programs, unit pricing, UPC/price marking legislation)
- --Housing concerns (revision and strengthening of the community development block grant programs, expansion of FHA and FMHA)
- --Reorient energy development spending to emphasize renewable sources (particularly solar) and energy conservation
- --Regulatory reform including making regulatory agencies more responsive and accountable

We should establish communication channels and build coalitions around these issues, and not immediately seek converts to our separate sides of controversial issues such as nuclear power and bottle legislation. Environmental and community groups seeking to build coalitions with labor should be aware that for labor broad policy decisions are usually made at the national level whereas policies addressing specific local problems can be made at the local level.

EDUCATION

If this WEJ Conference is to benefit more than the 300 participants, then representatives of the three groups should make every effort to discuss their viewpoints at the local level with comparable groups. In these discussions, groups should present practical solutions to the real problems rather than argue vague philosophical positions.

JOBS

In a discussion of environmental and community concerns, the impact on jobs must be given major consideration. Specifically these issues should be addressed:

- --Legislation of programs to implement full employment
- --Retraining and fair treatment of dislocated workers
- --Concentrated efforts on the part of both the governmental and private sectors to develop alternate energy sources (particularly solar) since development of these sources would increase jobs and be environmentally sound. In addition, these alternative energy sources will be, in the long run, more economical and provide cheaper power.

TIM SAMPSON, Citizens Action League, California

Next reports on the issues. Clean Air. Two minutes, followed by Toxic Substances.

CLEAN AIR: DAPHNE GEMMILL, American Lung Association, New York

Clean Air doesn't include hot air! The air quality caucus circulated a petition yesterday. I am happy to report about 175 people signed it. In the interest of brevity, I will just submit our petition, because I think you have read it and seen it, for the records to be included. It is on the back table in case by any chance you've missed us yesterday, and I hope you'll sign it.

(Text of the petition follows: For information on signatures contact Daphne Gemmill.)

We, the undersigned, reaffirm our commitment to the goals of clean air for this country. As such, we urge that Congress include the following provisions within the Clean Air Act of 1976:

1. Designation of all new and existing national parks, monuments, and wilderness areas as Class I areas, with no deterioration permitted in such areas;

2. Elimination of tall stacks and intermittent controls as a means of stationary source control; In line with this, we support an excess emission charge as a financial penalty for those who fail to meet clean-up schedules as required;

3. Retention of original auto emission standards, with compliance by 1978;

4. Retention of transportation control strategies, e.g., auto inspection/maintenance programs and improved mass transit, as well as indirect source regulations.

TOXIC SUBSTANCES
GEORGE COLING, Urban Environment Conference, Washington, D.C.

This is a quick petition that was drawn up by several meetings on toxic substances. It concerns the legislation which is now at a critical stage. I am going to read it. There are some on the back table, sign it with all of the organizational authority that you can and we will send it to Mr. Harley Staggers. It reads as follows:

(The text of the petition follows. For information on signatures, contact George Coling.)

"Control of Toxic Substances has been a much stressed principle at this Conference. Several separate meetings within this conference and several speakers have addressed this question and we have agreed that the Toxic Substance Control Act, now pending in the U.S. House of Representatives, is a key forward step in this area. A similar bill recently passed the Senate, but the legislation has not been brought before the full House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Therefore, we urge Chairman Harley Staggers of the Committee to bring the bill under consideration before May 15 so that the appropriations for the Act, once passed, may begin in Fiscal Year 1977. Furthermore, we urge that the language of the Senate Bill be considered a bare minimum for the house bill."

Sign it and we'll get it off today in a telegram.

ENERGY ALTERNATIVES AND JOBS
BILL WARD, Great Plains Windustries, Inc., Kansas

We had a very productive session. It's going to continue in other groups later. We tried to pull together some things that have been told. Barry Commoner said that there is plenty of oil, a lot more than is being said we have, so we do have a life boat. We need to get in it and decide which way to go. There is a shortage in this country, but it is the shortage of what fuels capitalism, and that is capital. And so there are tradeoffs. You can't build everything. We look to two possibilities: nuclear power, we had a discussion of that and its technology and then we looked at alternative energy sources. We looked at the installations that are here at Black Lake. We concluded that: 1) they work, 2) they probably didn't build themselves, and 3) they didn't take very long to build, so there are jobs available. We decided what we needed to do was to quantify the number of jobs available and ascertain exactly how long it would take to create some of those jobs. Finally, we concluded that solar/wind alternatives are economical over their lifetimes, but they have high frontend costs. What's desperately needed is for the federal government to spend the capital that is needed to encourage capital flow in the alternative energy source thus creating jobs and energy sources which are compatible with environmental protection.

COMMUNITY HEALTH AND SAFETY
FRANK WALLICK, UAW, Washington, D.C.

I'm Frank Wallick, the editor of the UAW Washington Report. As an outgrowth of the In-Plant Environment

Workshop, there was established a coalition for Worker and Community Health and Safety. We discussed a statement and some recommendations and also have a petition to be signed at the rear of the room if you so desire.

Over 100,000 working men and women die each year from health hazards on the job. The labor movement, environmentalists, and community action groups can unite around this issue. We suggest that the National Urban Environment Conference act as network to inform, alert and educate people at this conference on the continuing struggle for a better work-place environment. We condemn corporations who poison their workers and the community and who force us to subsidize their profits with our health. There is, at present, a strike at Buffalo, New York, which is around this very issue. I call your attention to that, and also invite you to sign our petition.

(The text of the petition follows. For information on signatures, contact Frank Wallick.)

We, the undersigned, are concerned that over 100,000 working people die each year from health hazards at the job. The labor movement, environmentalists and community action groups can unite around this issue. We condemn corporations who poison their workers and community and who force us to subsidize their profits with our health.

ENVIRONMENT AND THE POOR
TISH DAVIS, Urban Environment Conference, Washington, D.C.

The caucus on the Environment and the Poor met yesterday and a sub-committee made up of members of the Black Caucus, environmental representatives, labor and other community people worked all day in developing what we would like to see as a proposed working document for the follow-up committee of the conference.

WILLIAM B. RATLIFF, Greenville Urban League, South Carolina

PREAMBLE

The major American social and environmental problems are a direct function of economic abuses and disparities in consumption and wealth. To remedy these problems will require significant and fundamental changes in our society. We encourage immediate attention to the long term goals of our society and to the short term transitions necessary to achieve these goals.

The basic causes of environmental and economic injustice must be recognized and eliminated. These include discrimination, over-concentration of wealth and a shortage of economic democracy. These conditions underlie environmental ills which pervade the lives of the poor. To overcome these conditions, we as environmentalists, community people, and workers support the economic goals of full employment, income maintenance and a more equitable redistribution of wealth. We believe that full employment can and must be accomplished through the development of jobs which will meet community needs and be environmentally sound. Furthermore, our groups recognize the need to develop a strong citizens movement that can build a power base to achieve these goals. Environmentalists, community groups and workers pledge, in the development and implementation of environmental, social, and economic policies, laws and plans, to actively fight discrimination by race, sex, class, and religion within our own constituencies and the community at large. The following is a list of our specific concerns:

1. Unemployment traditionally has affected black people, the poor and other minority groups severely. Recently, much attention has focused upon the Hawkins-Humphrey bill, which seeks to minimize unemployment. We support the concept of full employment. We further believe that a definition of full employment must take into account the disproportionate share of the unemployment rate which is borne by the poor, blacks and other minorities. Within this context, these groups must be guaranteed meaningful jobs at liveable wages. Measures to achieve these goals should be environmentally sound.

2. We are concerned that current trends in urban revitalization displace poor people. We support the right of all people to live where they choose, to have adequate transportation services and employment opportunities. We support a major expansion of public and private funding for construction and rehabilitation of low cost housing, while we oppose restrictive zoning laws aimed at excluding low income and minority groups. We also reaffirm our commitment to a policy of preserving important open spaces inside and outside the city.

3. We are concerned that spiralling utility bills, brought upon by the energy crisis and the present declining block rate structures 1) places a disproportionate burden on low income families, senior citizens and individuals on fixed incomes, and 2) discourages energy conservation. To correct this situation, we call upon unions,

community and environmental groups to support the following utility rate structure reforms: lifeline rates, "time-of-day" pricing, "peak load" pricing, and leveling the present declining block rate structures.

4. We recognize that the costs and impact of environmental problems fall most heavily on the poor. These problems include city congestion, cramped inadequate transportation, wasteful energy use, unhealthy living conditions, air and water pollution, and land use. We are furthermore committed to finding solutions which do not place an added cost burden on low income groups.

5. We endorse the National Environmental Policy Act and similar state laws. Their results should not be used for discriminatory purposes. We deplore, and will work against efforts to use NEPA and similar laws for discriminatory purposes. There must be thorough citizen participation before decisions based on these laws are made.

6. Community groups, including representatives of the poor, minorities, labor, and environmentalists, should collaborate in plans to provide sufficient jobs which are compatible with both community needs and environmental values. Conflicts between individual industrial projects and community and environmental values should be resolved in a spirit which commits all parties to a continuing process of cooperation.

(The following is taken from the written report prepared by the caucus on the Environment and the Poor and completes their report.)

7. More attention must be given to the effect of toxic chemicals on agricultural and industrial workers. They are the first and most severely affected.

8. Minorities, who have gained least from the rapid development of technology, should be given training and new employment opportunities in the development of environmentally sound and energy-efficient technologies.

9. Unions should support training and retraining programs for minorities in the emerging Environmental-Energy industries.

10. There needs to be more dialogue and positive action by unions regarding affirmative hiring, layoff, and termination practices.

11. We recognize that the primary responsibility of a union is service to its membership. However, we call on all unions in cooperation with community service agencies, to support additional services that can benefit its membership and the general community. These services should include: day care and day care facilities for workers, housing and transportation needs of all workers.

12. Labor, environmentalists and community groups must oppose red-lining and discrimination by banks, lending and insuring agencies. Funds should be withdrawn from those financial institutions that are guilty of the practices.

Finally, we call for the formation of a committee of the three groups to continue to work together throughout the year.

WOMEN'S CAUCUS
GINNY COLLETE, Public Interest Economics Foundation, Washington, D. C.

I just want to read a statement here that was passed around to all women yesterday at dinner.

WOMEN'S STATEMENT

It has been difficult to convene a women's caucus in the course of this conference. Everybody relates to everybody else at different levels. Each of us has several roles that we perform--from the very specific ("I work for the Muskegon Urban League") to the more general ("I'm an environmentalist"). However, most women, if asked to identify their true, gut interests, will say--"I'm a person first, a woman second, and whatever else is a third priority."

This conference has dealt with the specific results of our more general interests. As a consequence, the most basic questions have been omitted in favor of several, not unimportant issues. Therefore, women as women have not been able to avail themselves of this opportunity to communicate with each other.

Some issues of concern to women which are embodied in the interests of this conference, but have not been

addressed are:

1. A large percentage of families headed by single parents have been headed by women; and a large proportion of these families are poor. WHY?

2. Women heading families have a difficult time gaining decent paying employment. WHY? Several reasons for this are:

-sex segregated jobs that make it impossible to earn a decent living
-lack of adequate child care
-inflexible work schedules

3. In spite of this difficulty, women today make up over 40% of the work force, mostly confined to low paying service jobs.

4. Women and minorities have been hit hardest by the recession; therefore, the Hawkins-Humphrey Bill and similar attempts should specifically address the employment problems of women and minorities.

We have prepared a general women's statement, simply to acknowledge that, though several concerns have not been discussed here, they are essential to attainment of the goals of this conference.

GENERAL STATEMENT

We, the female participants in this conference, believe that the special concerns of women which have not been addressed here are fundamental to a discussion of the quality of life, and transcend the sometimes divergent interests of the movements represented at this conference. We also believe that the shared areas of concern voiced by the groups here are inherent to all women's lives.

Therefore, we resolve to start and to continue a dialogue with women who, either due to financial or social constraints, and not due to any lack of sincere concern, are unable to take an active role in these kinds of discussions directly affecting them and their children.

We pledge to work with them to implement the practical and philosophical resolutions of this conference.

We also resolve to work for the creation of a new economic development ethic, based not on power and technology, but on concerns for the needs of humanity.

CHICANO CAUCUS
ALEJANDRO MORANO, Colonias del Valle, Texas

This conference has achieved a solidarity among diverse groups. In keeping with this spirit the Chicano Caucus will present its report in Spanish.

Spanish Text

En el espiritu de solidaridad que se a implementado durante esta conferencia entre individuos de distintas areas e intereses, los Chicanos tomamos la oportunidad de expresar nuestras opiniones acerca de esta agrupacion:

1) Agradecemos la oportunidad de conocer personas con intereses parecidos a los nuestros,

2) Hemos concluido que los problemas que afectan a un grupo nos afectan a todos,

3) Debemos luchar en comun para lograr mejorar el medio ambiente, el sistema economico, la educacion, y el desarrollo de trabajo, todo para realizar la justicia,

4) Recomendamos que continue la comunicacion aqui establecida y que se desarrollen estratejias en las areas de intereses similares,

5) Recomendamos que se llame otra conferencia dentro de un año para desarrollar estratejias mas detalladas y que esa agrupacion tenga una participacion mas amplia de nuestra comunidad.

This cultural experience has been to show that there are still many aspects that we have yet to discuss among us. We had hoped to have an English version of the statement available. Since it is not, I will briefly state two points. The Chicanos believe that we must work jointly at local level and return in a year to formulate a more complete national strategy. We also believe that, we who are here, have yet to fully realize that what effects one group effects us all.

(The following statement was also prepared by the Chicano Caucus and is included here for the record)

In the spirit of solidarity, an attitude which sould be emphasized and implanted during the proceedings of the conference which has by design gathered a multitude of divergent, programmatic interests and geographic areas within the United States, we, the representatives of the Chicano community wish to take the opportunity to express some concerns and opinions regarding the conference:

1. The number of Chicanos attending this conference is extremely small, but however appreciate the opportunity of joining people who possess similar concerns as Chicanos;

2. We have concluded that the problems effecting a group subsequently transcends economic and ethnic lines; therefore, there are some problems that are universally created and sustained by a common enemy which is the economic and political system in which we live and that furthermore, neglects the welfare of people at large.

3. Therefore, it becomes essential to coalesce to combat those interests perpetuating the issues that we wish to change, and furthermore, should work for constructive changes in our environment, the economic system, the system of justice, education, and employment;

4. We recommend that communications should continue and be reinforced between those persons and groups attending the conference; and lastly,

5. We recommend that planning should be developed leading to a second conference that would focus upon the objectives and strategies identified at the Black Lake meeting in order to determine the extent of accomplishment of programs initiated; and furthermore, recommend that a greater number from the Chicano community be invited to attend the second conference.

Core Group 3
RACISM AND SEXISM
GEORGE RANKINS, Urban League of Portland, Oregon

Core Group 3 felt that they should share with you in this short time how we discovered honesty and solidarity within our group. And we did. It was through our outstanding core leaders. Our core leaders discovered what they considered subtle racism and sexism within our group. Subtle sexism in reference to women as gals. Subtle racism in that the question of ghettos referred to blacks because it was felt by some that they could relate to it better than others. From this ensued a hot and heavy discussion, some accusations, cross dialogue, and complete honesty. From that point on, we stopped apologizing, and we had a rap session that could be measured or equalled by no other group at this conference. At the end of this, no apologies were given and I really appreciated that because no apologies were necessary. We wanted to share this with you hoping that maybe you can get your group started in this manner at other conferences.

A personal observation that I would like to make. That is, I delve briefly a little in small politics back in Portland, Oregon. We are definitely a minority in that part of the country, black people, that is. I see from this group an emergence of young, black, outstanding leaders. I really appreciate that.

Finally, another observation, it seems to me that the very firm and stern faces here kind of upset me a little bit, so little smiling. Maybe we say we have nothing to smile about. We walk around looking like what I call the "average typical American". I've been trying to describe him ever since I've been here, and Tim just gave me this opportunity to give you this description of the "average typical American." I see the "average typical American" sitting at home drinking Brazilian coffee from his English cup with his feet on his Persian rug, eating nothing but Swiss cheese, after returning from seeing an Italian movie, in his German car, sitting at his Scandanavian desk, writing a letter to his Congressman with his ballpoint pen made in Tokyo.

BLACK CAUCUS
NORMAN HARRIS, JR., Eastside Action Movement, Colorado

These are some concerns we would like to share with you. This list grew out of our individual perception that the problems facing minority and poor peoples have not been addressed at this conference.

While we appreciate the environmental concerns of the various groups here assembled, we perceive that the problems and concerns of the majority culture will be addressed and answered at the expense of those people who are powerless economically and politically to make the system work for them--for that reason, we have drawn up a list of our concerns--not as representatives of our respective agencies, since we find that titles and labels prohibit us from dealing with human problems in a real way, but people whose common bond is our skin color--the target of neglect, indifference and slight concern.

A LIST OF BLACK CONCERNS

1. The environmental movement has developed into what appears to many minority communities to be an el- ist, class-oriented movement.

2. We support the concept of the Hawkins-Humphrey Bill, but, any support for the Hawkins-Humphrey Bill should include a definition of full employment (a decent job at a decent wage for every person willing and able to work) which will take into account the disproportionate share of the unemployment rate which is presently born by blacks and other minorities.

3. Environmental impact statements ought to be balanced with community needs for housing, jobs, transportation, energy. In the past some environmental impact statements have resulted in denial of other community priorities. (Added from the written text: such as restrictive zoning: urban and recreation neighborhood designations have been promoted to exclude the needs of low income and non-white people. Example--Denver, Rochester, San Francisco, low income housing designated for a middle income neighborhood was rejected because the designated neighborhood instantly developed a need for new parks on the vacant land.)

4. Urban environmental development is being utilized to displace minority people in core areas of cities and such activities follow the trends of the urban renewal programs which increased, rather than decreased, urban problems. Displacement has taken the place of adequate relocation and revitalization of minority communities. (Added from the written text: Example: Capital Hill in D. C., where large numbers of blacks have been displaced and homes that were once called slums are now fashionable "Brownstones."

5. If environmentalists are going to challenge industrial sites which may result in a substantial loss of jobs by the displacement of industry, there is a responsibility on the environmentalist movement to help that community find alternative job sources. (Added from the written text: Example: If they threaten to close down the rubber plants in Ohio, a disproportionate amount of blacks will loose their jobs.)

6. We are concerned that the energy crisis which resulted in exhorbitant utility bills critically affected poor people.

7. Urban transportation issues should consider action that does not transfer the problem from one neighborhood to another. (Added from the written text: Example: High volume traffic corridors, air traffic lanes, mass transit routes and freeways.)

8. The cost of air pollution control devices usually passed on to the consumer, and the poor consumer normally pays a disproportionate amount of money for consumer goods.

9. Toxic chemical problems also include thousands of migrant farm workers who are made ill by pesticides.

10. Minorities and the poor pay a higher proportion of their income for poor medical services as a result of living in an unhealthy or polluted environment in the inner city areas. We also know that high polluted areas cause a number of respiratory illnesses and possible cancer.

11. We are concerned that unions may once again oppose the retraining of minorities in the emerging environmental/energy industries.

12. There needs to be more dialogue and positive action by unions regarding affirmative action hiring, layoffs, and termination practices.

13. Unions should provide more direct support for community groups who are concerned with social and economic justice and equity.

14. Unions should address themselves to day care and day care facilities in their collective bargaining process. Such day care facilities would provide additional jobs and would encourage single parents to enter the job market.

15. Unions should address themselves to housing and transportation needs of all workers.

16. Union funds and investing practices should not encourage red-lining and discrimination by banks, lending and insuring agencies. Union funds should be withdrawn from those financial institutions that are guilty of such practices.

17. We are concerned that the legitimate rights--by treaty--of the Indian peoples have not been honored to this date by our government.

(Added from the written text:)

It is our concerted opinion that until the environmental problems of urban and rural peoples--all peoples--are addressed appropriately, the issues raised in this or any similar conference, will remain glaringly interest oriented.

Finally, a very important point was presented by Miss Lillian Benbow, Tuesday night's speaker, that one finger can only tap but a full fist can strike a mighty blow. So we call for the formation of these three groups to continue to try to close the fist throughout the year.

We would like to thank the Steering Committee and the staff in appreciation for the kinds of decisions they had to make that made our presence possible.

RURAL CAUCUS
KARL LIMVERE, North Dakota Farmers Union

We were honest. We felt we needed a few more minutes (10 minutes) because we had not been able to share this platform in any of the presentations.

Those from rural America attending this conference believe that if labor, community groups, and environmentalists are to succeed in their endeavors, that rural Americans must be included in the dialogue.

Therefore, in the human spirit expressed by Walter Reuther, who understood rural interrelationships, we want to offer some recommendations for your thought and for the conference record.

We are family farmers, farmworkers, the rural poor, and those of rural communities. We are the people who are responsible for the stewardship of the vast majority of the nation's land and water resources. We are the ones who will have to live with the land and water decisions.

We want to remind you that the problems of urban America began when the opportunities in rural America were dismantled and the world witnessed the greatest migration of people in its entire history, the migration from rural America to urban America. It left rural America depleted and struggling and the urban centers overflowing and unmanageable. It put 70% of the nation's population on 2% of its land.

Some say that this tide is now reversing. But it isn't increasing the number of farms. Instead our land is the prime target for urbanization, mineral and lumber exploitation, industrial expansion, and similar encroachments.

We are the victims of the bulldozers that are reshaping our land into non-agricultural uses, and in the process destroying our various cultures, our economic structures, our values, and our families. We all eventually suffer from this loss of agricultural production and the social dislocations.

If these developers can't swindle us out of our land, the increased land taxation pushes us off. Even if we still are somehow able to hang on, they use the power of government under the disguise of public interest and initiate

eminent domain proceedings and condemn our land to build their subdivisions, transmission lines, pipelines, highways, strip mines, dams, reservoirs, and whatever else their imagination dictates on what used to be the source of our livelihood.

We want to support you in your efforts to revitalize the inner city and to let people work and shop where they live, because it reduces the pressure on our land for suburban development and highways.

We ask your support for farmland taxation on the basis of its agricultural productivity, to replace the present system of taxing it on the basis of a speculator's or developer's potential profit. We ask for your support to limit the right of eminent domain. We ask your support for a land-use planning system that gives us the ability to have a voice in how our land is utilized.

We ask your support in the redirection of our nation's rail system so that we all have a more economical, socially and environmentally efficient means of transportation of ourselves and our production.

We see, we also want a new basis and definition of growth. We don't want new strip mines when our deep-mining industry can supply coal requirements if we improved its safety and its technology. We can't afford the loss of land and deep-miners can't afford the further loss of jobs. Why should the energy, lumber, or any industry be permitted to move to new areas of exploitation, when they can no longer profit as much from their previous exploitation?

This is why we ask for strict regulation and de-emphasis of strip-mining, higher severance taxes, an end to clear-cutting of forests, and similar environmental measures.

These industries want our coal, our water, our trees, and our land, and then they think we will be happy to go to work for them at non-union wages.

We have this strange notion that the land should belong to those who work it. We ask for your help in stopping tax-loss farming by corporations and the wealthy. We ask for help in curbing corporate agriculture. They are not farmers with a land ethic. We ask you to remember that Meadowlark Farms, Inc. is owned by AMAX Coal, and that Tenneco agricultural subsidiaries have become suburban developers.

We ask your help in enforcing the 160 acre limitation and residency requirements of the Reclamation Act of 1902 so that land served by federally sponsored irrigation systems can be taken out of the hands of agri-business conglomerates and placed in the hands of farmworkers in such places as the Westlands District in California.

We ask that various productive tribal lands be returned to Native Americans.

We ask that the bargaining rights and health of migrant workers be protected. But more important, we ask that they be provided the opportunities to become family farmers.

We ask support for the right for family farmers to bargain collectively with food processors and distributors through legislation similar to the National Labor Relations and Wagner Acts.

We ask support for new concepts of land tenure and structures to provide land opportunities for starting farmers through programs such as the Saskatchewan Land Bank Commission. At the same time we ask that you help redirect federal farm credit agencies so that they serve the family farmer, rather than subsidizing or imitating the banker.

We ask that USDA and the Census Bureau not be permitted to hide the plight of small farmers by redefining farms and thus removing them from the statistical data.

We ask these things because we believe that the small diversified farmer produces more jobs, better food, and more environmental protection. These are also your goals at this conference.

When you talk about housing, we ask that you remember that the majority of substandard housing in this nation is in rural America.

When you talk about health care, remember that rural America has counties without a single doctor. We not only want a comprehensive national health insurance program, but also a health care delivery system that brings health professionals and services to our people.

When you talk about discrimination in federal programs and services, remember that our rural poor in our com-

munities want clean water, sewage systems, and similar basics.

When you talk about toxic chemicals, decentralized alternate energy systems, or the development of appropriate technology, we ask that you join us in redirecting the priorities of our land grant university system and the agricultural extension service. We want the alternatives of an integrated pest control system. We don't want our extension agent to be the carnival barker that repeats the pitches of petrochemical monopolies.

We want alternate sources of power on our farms. We want technology that will give the family farm the competitive advantage for a change.

We want an end to the production of technology at our land grant universities and by USDA for agribusiness giants who view land only as the rooting zone for chemically-produced food planted and harvested without the caress of human hands. We want to stop exporting this technology through foreign aid programs.

We ask for your help in developing a national food policy that provides equitable returns to family farmers, stable prices, food reserves, and stable supplies. We ask your help to remove the speculators, both on the domestic and international level of our food distribution system who rip off the farmer and keep on raising prices to the consumer.

We offer our support to the expansion of the food stamp program, school lunch programs, establishment of full employment, and the repeal of right to scab laws, because we understand that the only viable way to increase our food markets is to give people the ability to buy food.

These are the recommendations of the Rural Caucus. We do not represent everybody in rural America. We had no participants from the Farm Bureau, the local chamber of commerce, or the agricultural councils fronting for agri-business.

We are not in full agreement among ourselves, but we believe we represent the rural forces that potentially can coalesce with other groups in this conference on a multitude of issues. We believe we can help reach your goals, and just as importantly we believe you can help us attain our populist notion that this entire society can live in an economic, social and representative democracy.

COAL CAUCUS
MIKE CLARK, Highland Education and Research Center, Tennessee

The Coal Caucus met, and some of us from the Appalachian coal fields would like to present this proposal:

We propose that the individuals and organizations attending this conference adopt a single event as a symbol of our desire to work together. This event should include the need for a better environment, the need for all of America's workers to be unionized, and recognition of the destructive effect which the drive for maximumization of profits has upon our communities. The event we propose is the recent disaster at Blue Diamond Coal Company Scotia Mine in Eastern Kentucky where 26 men, black and white, young and old, lost their lives due to the murderous conditions imposed upon their work environment by a corporation's profit motive. This disaster raises serious questions concerning governmental efforts incapability to insure job safety through enforcement of laws. Because the workers did not belong to a powerful and effective union, they were afraid to speak out against the coal bosses. Because the mine inspectors did not receive adequate support from their superiors, they were unable to enforce the laws. Because the coal companies and the federal and state agencies think that profit is more important than workers lives, 26 men were murdered. Despite all the continuing investigations by various government agencies and committees, the families of the dead miners and the people in their communities see little evidence that justice will be done. Scotia represents everything we have gathered here to change. Scotia symbolizes the lack of environmental protection for people, the lack of unions among workers, and the lack of political power by our communities to control our own lives. We hope that everyone here will adopt Scotia as a symbol for struggle. A Scotia miners widow's fund has been organized. We ask you consider giving them whatever support you can either financial or programatic. A delegation of conference participants will soon be contacting the United Mine Workers to offer our support in their own efforts to organize the Blue Diamond Mines. We urge you to join in this effort. Finally, and most important, we urge you to take the message of Scotia across this land. We cannot forget, we must not forget, we cannot afford to forget, the men who dug each other's graves. We must learn to stand together. We must learn to fight for our rights together. Always in a hot pursuit of truth, we must push back the poisonous gases of fear, ignorance, prejudice and confusion, and find new ways to throw fresh clean light upon our mother, the earth.

THE INDIAN CAUCUS
GEORGE BARTA, Sioux City American Indian Center, Iowa

Message from the Indian people.

The environment which this conference is now considering once belonged to the American Indian. It is logical that Indian people be consulted on this matter. We who have lived on this land for thousands of years and still do, have knowledge which is invaluable in this effort. We lived on this land for thousands of years without an environmental crisis, without an energy crisis. However after the conquest, Europeans managed to bring these crises about in just under 200 years.

The genocide of our people and the theft of our land have left scars on our people. It adds insult to injury for us to now see that the lands stolen from us are being destroyed by those now possessing them.

In relation to this conference, we, the Indian people in attendance, wish to present the following points:

1. We believe the land we now hold is inalienable. No one has the right to take it away or tell us how to use it.

2. We Indian people are seeking to establish our own expertise in dealing with environmental problems caused by outsiders on our lands. Environmental groups should use their knowledge to impower us in this effort and not use their expertise to blackmail us into giving them a policy-making position on Indian environmental issues. Since very few minority people are involved in environmental groups, we believe they should be encouraged to mount their own environmental efforts.

3. Public interest lobbyists should consult on all major legislation in Washington which affects Indian interests.

4. We oppose any policy such as state economic development Indian lands. We believe that our trust relationship with the federal government is a cornerstone of our survival.

5. We resist the treatment of our lands as if they were federal lands. Federal lands are public lands held in trust by the federal government for public benefit. Indian lands are private lands held in trust by the federal government for Indian benefit.

6. We believe our treaties with the government of the United States make us sovereign nations and that Indian policy should not be made by organized labor or the environmental movement. These groups should act in the context of what the Indian people want.

7. We believe that rampant consumerism and industrial progress have sown seeds of their own destruction because the resources of the earth upon which these things feed are limited. We therefore urge Anglo-Americans to return to a simpler life or they will destroy us all. Americans should strive to be satisfied and happy with all they have instead of basing their happiness on how much they can amass and construct.

8. We believe that the profit motive in this society is a cultural problem and not an economic one. If Americans are seeking to replace profit as a method of motivating people, they should not look to coercion but instead to their culture and view of life. People in societies closer to the earth are motivated by means other than offering them material rewards for acting in a certain way. If non-Indians coerce themselves they are more likely to coerce others.

9. We believe that land and people are one. We believe that only people with an integral relationship to the land can survive. We consider the land as our church, thus the destruction of the land is equal to the destruction of the cathedrals of Europe and the temples of Asia. We view the preservation of our natural land as our right to freedom of religion and our right to freedom of worship.

There is more to this report. I'm not going to have time to read it? I would appreciate if all of you who have seen this report would try to share it. There's some things in there that we have talked about to environmentalists. We would suggest reading material for those who were before us for these three days would be the book by Vine Deloria "We Talk--You Listen". I want to close this off, I have 13 seconds left. We wish to thank the UAW and persons who are responsible for organizing this conference. We thank them for the comfort, wishing you

all a safe journey home. In struggle, the Native Americans of this conference.

TIM SAMPSON, Citizens Action League, California

Perhaps it's fitting that the last caucus report I have is the Clean Air Caucus that wants its one minute back.

CLEAN AIR CAUCUS
DAPHNE GEMMILL, American Lung Association, New York

My fellow caucus members brought to my attention that in my trying to be brief, I left out probably the one most salient point. The Clean Air Act will be coming up for a vote on the House and the Senate floors in the next few weeks. This act has been severely weakened by incredible industrial pressure, particularly the Chamber of Commerce and the utilities. A stronger citizen lobbying voice will be crucial to prevent further losses on the floor, especially in the important transportation sections. All of us at this conference are concerned about that because they are important handles for energy conservation, land use control, and improving mass transit. I hate to mention one more meeting because I know everyone's "meetinged out", but those who are interested in working on lobbying on the Clean Air Act, generating articles in newsletters, and mail, could see me and other caucus members in the back of the room as you go out to lunch just on the other side of the door. Thank you.

(Three other issue-oriented groups met and prepared written reports which are included here for the record.)

MUNICIPAL SEWAGE CAUCUS

A group of environmentalists, labor union members, and government employees met on Tuesday, May 4, 1976 to discuss the problems with the municipal construction grants program, a program which was designed to improve water quality through municipal sewage treatment plants. The problems were listed and means to work on the problems were suggested.

The list of the problems follows:

1. The sewage treatment projects are not being built as quickly as they should be. These projects should move faster.

2. The treatment projects should conform to the established criteria earlier.

3. Construction of sewage treatment projects may encourage growth. This growth may in turn create some environmental problems. It is important that construction grants be planned to minimize such negative secondary environmental effects.

4. Action should be taken to get clean water faster.

5. Many communities have problems in filling out the necessary applications to obtain the grants. Technical assistance should be provided to such communities to help in application procedures.

6. Local citizen participation should be improved.

7. Improvements should be made in the decision-making process.

8. Consultant designs for the sewage treatment plants have been poor and have been delayed. These consultant services should be improved and expedited.

9. Urban water use (e. g. for recreation) should be improved.

10. There should be improvement of the Davis-Bacon compliance procedures, which establishes that prevailing wages be paid on federal jobs.

11. Local communities must provide 25% of the total costs of the sewage treatment plants. Often, the communities cannot raise the money to match the federal grant.

12. In many cases, communities do not apply for the construction grants. There seems to be an uneven enforcement of this program to force the communities to apply.

13. Each state has a priority list of communities that most need sewage treatment plants. Often some communities have the necessary money and plans but are not a high enough priority to obtain the federal funds. This priority list may be outdated.

14. It is important to match the plant development to the sewer line development.

15. There is a need for improved training for operation and maintenance of the plants.

After listing the problems and discussing the improvements that need to be made in the grants program, recommendations were made to begin to work on these problems.

These recommendations follow:

1. An advisory council could be set up at the regional level to discuss the problems in greater detail and to find ways to improve the program. This council would be made up of construction labor union representatives, other union representatives, community members, environmentalist representatives of the engineering organizations and federal, state, and local governmental representatives.

2. A state task force could be set up to discuss construction criteria, etc., as well as the problems listed above. A task force of this kind could be composed of biologists, hydrologists, engineers, state construction people, community representatives, labor representatives, consultants, and government employees.

3. The state task force or the regional advisory council should provide for technical assistance to communities to expedite the permit process.

4. The state task force or the regional advisory council should contact the mayors and officials of the communities to make them aware of the program. If necessary, a "dog and pony" show be presented.

5. Dialogues should be started between the different issue groups that are represented at this conference to expedite this program.

Although these recommendations would not provide a panacea for the problems that have been experienced in this program, it is a beginning. Ms. Lee Botts of the Region 5 EPA office has said that she will approach the appropriate people at the EPA to see if they would be interested in establishing a regional advisory group for Region 5. The contacts have been made and more discussion will follow between the people involved in this workshop.

Barbara Reid Alexander, League of Women Voters, Maine
Stan Arnold, Michigan State Building and Construction Trades Council
Margaret Banker, Wabash Valley Central Lake Council
Mimi Becker, League of Women Voter's of Ohio
Lee Botts, Region 5 EPA
Connie Ennenga, Minnesota Pollution Control Agency
Helen Fenske, EPA
Kris Hall, NRDC
Howard Leroux, Michigan State Building Trades
Richard Robbins, Great Lakes Tomorrow
Eugene Tolot, Michigan State Building and Construction Trades Council
Charles Younglove, United Steelworkers Union

RESOLUTION ON NUCLEAR ENERGY

Compelling evidence exists that the further development of nuclear energy is counter to the interests of full employment, environmental quality and economic justice, while the development of renewable solar energy resources would advance those interests.

Further, the continued subsidy of an industry which is not cost effective is at the expense of alternate energy development.

Accordingly, we call upon the federal government to develop and adequately fund a project solar blueprint for phasing out our commitment to nuclear power in favor of basing the nation's economy on solar, wind and other renewable energy sources as rapidly as possible. We also call for a major effort in energy conservation and

incentives toward that end in the interim.

We, the undersigned, support the above.

RESOLUTION ON FULL EMPLOYMENT

WHEREAS poverty and unemployment has remained high in the community despite attempts to improve the economy, and
WHEREAS unemployment has a disasterous effect upon the lives of its victims, physically, mentally, and emotionally, and
WHEREAS such unemployment and poverty, is a poison to the lives of the people of the nation,
NOW THEREFORE we delegates to this conference on working for environmental and economic justice and jobs do hereby resolve that we support the concepts set forth in the full employment and balanced growth act of 1976 (HR & S 50) which establishes the right of all adult Americans able, willing, and seeking to work the opportunities for useful, paid employment at fair and decent wages and conditions,
RESOLVED FURTHER that to support that right we support the creation of a permanent institutional framework within which the President, the Federal Reserve Board, and the Congress are systematically encouraged to develop and establish the economic goals and policies necessary to provide productive employment in the public and private sectors and a decent standard of living for adult Americans, aimed at achieving the goal of full employment as rapidly as possible.

RESOLVED FURTHER that in the creation of these jobs we feel that substantial consideration shall be given to the needs for housing, medical care, food, a beautiful and healthy environment, the abatement of pollution and the total health and welfare of the people, and that every effort shall be made through local planning to provide jobs that will meet the people's needs and conserve natural resources and energy.

AMENDMENT #1: Consistent with this is the need to insure that efforts are made to recognize and address the fact that certain segments of our population suffer significantly higher levels of unemployment than the national average.

AMENDMENT #2 We urge that Congress considering this legislation give careful attention to the problems of older workers and such other groups as may have special problems in the employment field.

TIM SAMPSON, Citizens Action League, California

I suggest that instead of any kind of a break, which might be appropriate, we'll go right through. There are some important things left to cover. I suggest you clap like hell on your feet for your reports. Get up! Let's hear it for all the reports. Holler and scream a bit. All right, now sit back down. While you're sitting back down, you know Bob Dylan has a song about he's the last man on earth. He dreamed it, and he says at the end of it, "I'll let you be in my dream if you'll let me be in yours". Well, I adapted that, and I'll let you be in my caucus if you let me be in yours.

We now have a report from the Continuing Action Committee.

CONTINUING ACTION COMMITTEE
STUART BRANDBORG, Urban Environment Conference, Washington, D. C.

The first item of business this morning is practical politics. The subject is "Where You Can Show Your Sophistication". We've seen UAW draw together some of the most devisive elements--us--that we can locate within our society. Under the leadership, for some 10 months, of a wonderful staff they have made this thing happen. This has bled their resources. It has taken months of hard work. I think we've got to go to John Yolton, Margaret Allen, Gladys Boyd, Andy Paulick, Phil Perkins, Martha Reynolds, Alice Kinnebrew, the whole team to give them our personal thanks, but secondly, let's let Leonard Woodcock and Odessa Komer, lovely people, know how important and how far-reaching this effort has been to each one of us.

The number one focus of the committee has been to see that we don't fall subject to the "Monday morning syndrome". It was a hell of a meeting, but the problems that each one of us faces on his or her own desk begin to overcome us and we forget about the follow-up. I think our excellent panel members have given us many specifics, but we really have to reach resolution in our minds that something is going to happen at regional and state levels and that we are going to rejoin at the state level and community level to carry this thing forward. It is not easy. We have asked UAW to coordinate these efforts, to consider the coordination, to restructure the staff to include those neglected areas, minorities, blacks, some of the economic problems. We recognize we

could not do everything at this conference. This brings us to the topic of process. I think we should see that in the sessions like this, the sessions that we will carry forward at regional, state, and local levels, it's impossible to exhaust all of the elements of every issue and to come up with the answers. We really are working here as two or three of our excellent panelists have said, to develop a trust base. We know that division, with the every-man-every-woman-for-himself attitude that we've followed through the years, we are going to go down to defeat. Our motivation is a very simple one, without unity and without the use of the tools and skills that we've developed, we are simply not going to persevere. A motivation of fear, fear of loss. This would be tragic in the face of the great faith that we have in democratic institutions and the people power that has been explored here. We know people power, and it is up to us to make the most of it.

Now the broader problems of society, the economic problems, the redistribution of wealth, the minorities, rural America, simply have not taken enough of our time. I think those of us who are environmentalists recognize that we must be more open, we must, as our chairman has said, be able to listen. This is the process which we can build in our state and local groups.

Another practical political message: that it has been recommended by Ellen Knox that some of the leaders of this group who work in Washington draw together to distill these excellent reports and present them to the candidates for the Presidency. I would like to ask at this time that those here who can contribute to this, give me a call or other members of our Steering Committee or Planning Committee, and that we go forth expeditiously to talk to these individuals personally. I myself have been working with two campaigns. I found that a lot of the issues that we've brought forth here have been sorely neglected.

The second part of the report is that of the committee recommendation for continuity and would last ask my colleague Dan Leahy to give us this brief committee recommendation.

DAN LEAHY, Human Affairs Program Utilities and Energy Project, Cornell University, New York

The Continuation Committee recommends the following four points:

1. That the Planning Committee be continued and restructured based on this conference experience and reports we have just heard.

2. That the Restructured Planning Committee proceed immediately to support and conduct state, regional, and local working conferences.

3. That the Restructure Planning Committee communicate to all conference participants the experiences of these working sessions.

4. That based on the experiences of these working conferences a second national conference be planned and implemented.

The Continuation Committee recommends the adoption of this report. I so move.

TIM SAMPSON, Citizens Action League, California

It has been moved and seconded that the committee's recommendations be adopted. Are you ready for the question or is there discussion? You're Ready! Glad to hear that you are ready! All in favor of the adopting of the report of the Committee on Continuing Action say, "Aye". (Aye) Opposed. (No response). So ordered. I would like to thank the Agenda and Continuing Action Committees for their hard work and all the reporters.

Now, it is my job to move us to a conclusion to this meeting. What's necessary in summarizing a meeting that's already been well summarized is simply a lift up of spirits. What's the spirit of Black Lake? That's the question that's in front of us. What is the spirit of Black Lake? What's going to go forward from here? Is the spirit of Black Lake it's environmental, union and community business as usual? (NO!) Is the spirit of Black Lake: Yes, I know it's all linked together like Gerald Wilkinson and Barry Commoner said, but I'm going to keep on doing my own thing? (NO!) Is it: I understand your issue better now, but mine is till more important? (NO!) I didn't think so.

To embody the spirit, instead of somebody trying to summarize, our summary is going to be given by nine or ten brothers and sisters who we just selected by the best human computing processes we had to come up here and say a word or two from their heart. After your first word, I'll stand, and then you'll be allowed to say your second.

Ted Novak, Ossie Ballard, Robert E. Lee, Dick Robbins, Sylvia Troy, Hiawatha Davis, Lucille Shockley, and Victor Ray, if you can wend your way up here. This is our way of having some rank-and-file folks at the conference embody the spirit of Black Lake by saying what it was to them. Just a word or two from their hearts. As you line up behind me for your word or two, that's going to be the kind of spirit that we're going to take out as our spirit from us. Just step forward and say your name and your spirit.

TED NOVAK, United Steelworkers of America - District 29, Michigan

Personal views from labor's standpoint in being here. I don't know at this point what the spirit is except we got to learn to love and work together. However, I would like to say this. We came here. We listened. We learned, and when we were allowed by the ladies, we talked. I'm going home from here hoping we'll continue to do just that. Thank you.

ROBERT E. LEE, United Rubber Workers #959, North Carolina

I'm Robert E. Lee. Those of you that I've met I've enjoyed it. I think we brought a little understanding together in these few days we've been here. One thing that I would like to point out: I came up here from North Carolina not knowing what an environmentalist was. So I got to discussing it in my core group. I thought it was people making $10,000 to $20,000 a year ripping the federal government. I'm serious, I'm serious. Now let me bring a little education to some of you and note, that some. All right, I've experienced people here I guess with all types and different backgrounds of education. I've noticed some people, it appears to me, this is my own personal opinion, that you try to impress people with your education. Those of you that do this know who you are. People that try to impress people with their education don't make any sense at all. I would sincerely like to thank the UAW, and the people that made this conference necessary. I urge everyone to let's comeback together in about a year and get our stuff together a little bit better.

LUCILLE SHOCKLEY, Concerned Citizens of Piney Mountain, Tennessee

The most important thing I've learned from this conference is that people with other backgrounds and representing different interest groups can work together. And, the importance of making the government responsive to the people, to the working people, of our nation. Thank you.

OSSIE BALLARD, UAW Local 1435, Ohio

I'd like to say that in the four days that I have attended this conference I had been in contact with many subjects, issues, and conflicts. I think we have overlooked one thing. There is a commonality here. We cannot do one without the other. We have to work together in order to come to a perspective that we can get this thing done together. I'd like to say that if we keep it in the back of our minds that if we, the environmentalists, or the people working for the community, or in the plant, work together that we can accomplish a thing that we are trying to do here today in such a short time. If we realize, that in everything we have talked about, discussed, as you say, "Well look, I understand your point of view, I understand what you're trying to say." But you overlooked the fact that we are people trying to better ourselves. And I hope that when we leave this conference and go your way or my way, that we keep in mind that we have left here richer than we came. Thank you.

VICTOR RAY, National Farmers Union, Colorado

I want to thank you for your attention to the problems of rural America here. We appreciate it. We support you in your belief that all of us, everybody has a right to abundance, a right to health, a right to the comfort of a good home, and a right to the voice in all things in a dynamic community. We endorse the process that has been emphasized here, and we hope that all of you go back with that in mind. Not process among those of us who are the elite who are here but with our members back home and the people in the community. This same dynamic process of this conference must be carried out at every level, because it is the only way that we think we can share our respective points of view not only among groups, but within groups. There is a diversity in America, and we discover it by this dynamic process. I want to thank the UAW, and all of you for a fine conference.

HIAWATHA DAVIS, Eastside Action Movement, Colorado

It's not really much that I can say to add to a lot of the information that's been exchanged except to say that I've been to a lot of meetings that have ended up in just being a meeting. A lot of seeds have been planted here, and I hope that we will make them grow into some action which will produce the kind of country that we would all like to see. I really don't have any disagreement with the kind of country that at least most of the folks here said that they'd like to see. So we have to make sure that those seeds that have been planted here grow.

Once we leave here, we have to recognize that business as usual has gone while we've been sitting here talking. No problems have been solved. None whatsoever. We have at least got some dialogue, and as black folks say, "It's time to get down with it." Thank you.

SYLVIA TROY, Save the Dunes Council, Indiana

As an ex-community worker in East Harlem in New York, and from a trade union background whose been a committed environmentalist for the past 15 years, I feel as if I'm a meld of everyone represented here. I feel that the preservation of the human resources and natural resources are inseparable. Therefore, there is more that unites us than divides us. Perhaps the most exciting thing for me here is the potential for active, vigorous political action. If we all can unite in that area, it's absolutely unlimited and very exciting. I find the U. A. W.'s social unionism truly inspirational. Thank you.

TIM SAMPSON, Citizens Action League, California

That's the spirit of Black Lake. When people ask if this conference came up with any answers, tell them that instead of answers, Black Lake was when we began to ask the right questions. Like, how can we avoid being divided and played off against one another? Like, how can we choose and shape issues to help unite us? Like, which rural and urban issues link to traditional environmental concerns? How can unions and environmentalists keep on joining forces? How can we keep fighting for one victory at a time in a way that builds our people-power necessary to achieve the kind of fundamental change that Barry Commoner talked about? Those are the questions that arose with the spirit of Black Lake. That's what Black Lake was about. At this point, if we were doing our business as usual, we would thank a long list of people whose vision and hard work helped us create the spirit of Black Lake. Every one knows that that list would begin with the U. A. W., from Leonard Woodcock, and Odessa Komer, all the way up to the kitchen, dining room, and housekeeping staff here at Black Lake. Instead I'd like to suggest that we celebrate our collective work here at Black Lake and let our "Thank Yous" be visible in actions at home.

I'd like to do my little number here by referring to John Yolton's theme for this conference. It was a dynamite idea. Some folks derailed it. He was going to have us call it "Bi-Earth Day '76". It was going to be a Bi-Centennial celebration. Well that's not a bad idea and it kind of grows on you. I shot it down, at first, naturally. But I've come back to that idea, John. I'd like to close with the Bi-Centennial poem and dedicate it to that spirit. It's called, "Happy Birthday Dear Government."

1976--the time to celebrate our revolution!
How do you celebrate a revolution?
By making one!
How do you go about making one?
Well, first you need a Declaration!

Let's look at the 1776 Declaration of Independence
and see what it says.
All right.

When in the course of human events... ? (NOW!)
Declare the causes... (why a revolution is in order)
All men are created equal...
(but Abigail Adams added, "If particular care and
attention are not paid to the ladies we are
determined to ferment a rebellion...."\)

And have rights.
Governments are instituted to secure these rights...
(government is supposed to be part of the solution!)
(When Government becomes part of the problem, change it.)

But we usually don't change it right away--
first we suffer. (Are we suffering?)
After a while when we find out what's going on, it is
our right, our (PATRIOTIC duty, to change that
government.

Now we list our grievances.
What are our grievances?
Is there anyone with a problem listing our grievances?
Who are our grievances against?
(In 1776, George was King. In 1976, MONEY is King.
or fill in the blank: King_____.)

Point out that we have expressed our concerns before.
(First petitions, then a declaration)
Say we are going to DO IT
(make it our government again)
Mutually pledge to each other our lives.
(Are you ready to take this pledge?) I am.
Then we sign it.

Then we proceed.
And as Ms. Adams said then, "you will find that the proceedings of our citizens have been united, spirited and firm. The flame is kindled and like lightning it catches from soul to soul."

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, TO US.

Dick Robbins has a closing word.

DICK ROBBINS, Lake Michigan Federation, Illinois

It's very hard to follow Tim. I think it's good. I came here, I was to speak a few minutes ago on where I came from and where I'm going. I came here thinking things about unions and about community groups that have been all over-turned while I've been here. We've worked with union people before, the United Steelworkers. We've worked with John Yolton and Martha Reynolds. I thought they were special and unique people within the labor movement. They are special and unique, but I find out that there are many other people in the labor movement, as well as in the community groups, who share their ideas. The activity moves broader within the movement. I've learned a lot, and that's what I can say about it. The most important thing that I've learned here is that the word "union" means something different from just the kind of thing that I've heard that "union" means in the newspapers and through industrial spokesmen. It is something entirely different which just leads me to the final thing I think we ought to do here. There's a song that is sung here at the end of most conferences, so I hear. It is called Solidarity. I think it would be good if we all stood up and join people here in that song.

ANDY PAULICK, United Auto Workers Conservation Department, Michigan

Generally when we have our family education programs, and we're about to close the general proceedings, we stand and sing it. But I'm going to give you a special dispensation because, since you only have two hands and I want you to reach out and touch somebody beside you like this, you're not going to be able to hold that piece of paper you've got, so would you sit down and put the song in front of you. Some of you don't know the words, O.K.? Let's grab hands. The tune is to "Glory, Glory, Hallelujah". I really need help, so I want a lot of help out there.

SOLIDARITY

When the Union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run,
There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun.
Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one?
But the Union makes us strong.

CHORUS:

SOLIDARITY FOREVER,
SOLIDARITY FOREVER,
SOLIDARITY FOREVER,
For the Union makes us strong.

They have taken untold millions, that they never toiled to earn,
But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel could turn;
We can break their haughty power, gain our freedom when we learn
That the Union makes us strong. (CHORUS)

In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold;
Greater than the might of armies magnified a thousand fold,
We can bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old,
For the Union makes us strong. (CHORUS)

TIM SAMPSON, Citizens Action League, California

God bless everybody.

Go home and organize and let the spirit of Black Lake live!

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CONFERENCE NEWSLETTER · May 3, 1976

Bread & Roses

Editors' Note: This first issue of the conference newsletter was produced by four bleary-eyed souls last night: Tom Riesenberg, Roger Hickey, Barbara Clark, and Peter Sinclair. We need your help for future issues. Nab us in the cafeteria line and give us your ideas (why not run a favorite recipes column?) anecdotes (Overheard in the sauna bath yesterday...), announcements ("the Tuesday morning volleyball class will meet behind the dining hall at 5:30 a.m."), drawings or cartoons (any Herblocks out there?), favorite bedtime stories, or anything else which you feel would be of interest to other participants at this conference.
We are also announcing our first conference contest: "Name the Newsletter." (The above masthead, as those Washington politicans love to say, is a "trial balloon"). So get those cards and letters pouring in. The winner will receive a lifetime subscription to this newsletter.

WORKSHOP CHANGES:

3. CETA and other Federal Funds for your Community, add Laura Reyes, New Detroit, Resource Person
4. Appropriate Technologies--Who Are They Appropriate For? add Paolo Stripinii and Marian Lowe, Boston University, Resource Person
13. Housing and Neighborhood Conservation, change Paul Davidoff to Cusing Dolbeare, National Rural Housing Coalition

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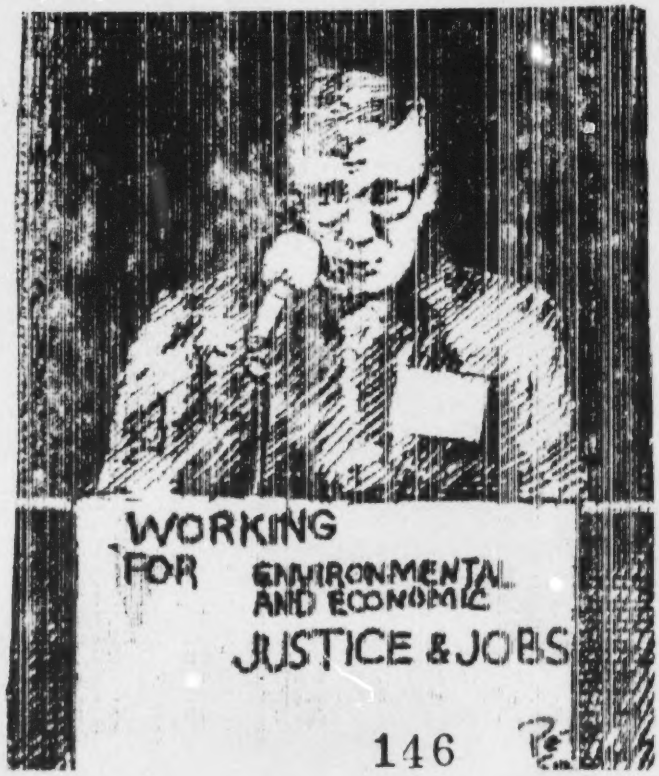
WOODCOCK CALLS FOR ENVIRONMENTAL - LABOR UNITY



UAW International President Leonard Woodcock urged labor unions and ecologists to fight corporate "environmental blackmail" in his keynote address to the Black Lake Conference last night.
He said that with a shortage of jobs in the country, it is an effective strategy for industry to seek to divide unionists from environmentalists. But, in fact, he said, "a strong and healthy economy cannot exist without a healthy environment."
He urged environmentalists to support pro-labor legislation, s such as the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment bill, and a Mondale-Ford bill to provide federal assistance to workers who lose their jobs due to plant closings.

Bread & Roses

COMMONER PREDICTS NEED FOR MAJOR REFORMS

Environmental quality must go hand-in-hand with public control of the nation's economy, ecologist-writer Barry Commoner told an enthusiastic, standing-room-only audience of environmentalists, labor representatives, and community organizers Monday.

"'Production' has become a social problem," he said. "There are deep, inherent faults in the system and corrective attempts at this point only make things worse."

Commoner said he had no alternative to offer to the current political system but preferred to assume the role of scientist and "professional worrier." In short order he then drew together a wide range of factors which he sees as the basis for today's economic-environmental malaise.

Commoner traces most of our problems to the fact that the "production system" attempts to dictate to the ecosystem instead of vice versa.

Racing from chart to chart and injecting his narrative with humorous tidbits, Commoner made a valiant effort to tie together loose ends and mend any hard feelings between labor and environmentalists. After $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours he seemed to have succeeded in convincing his audience that yes, things do fit together in a neat pattern of ecological abuse and economic exploitation.

Commoner urged labor groups to look closely at the post-war trend in corporate America to greater use of capital and energy at the expense of jobs. "I can't understand why it's so hard for labor to see this," he said. "Labor 'efficiency' equals unemployment."

Commoner's speech was taken from his book "The Poverty of Power," to be released later this month by Alfred Knopf, Inc.

Sounding Off: Conference participants selected at random respond to the question "What did you think of Commoner's speech, in particular his use of the word socialism?"

"He didn't call for a socialism loud enough (community leader)... Socialism is a point of view rather than a blueprint. To that extent I'm for it (Labor leader)... It's an idea that most people hadn't thought of (Community leader)... It doesn't bother me, but it will some of my members (environmentalist)... I have no problems with it. I believe we have to change things, but it's got to be done in a democratic fashion (labor leader)... I don't get turned off by the word 'socialism'. My problem is not with the word. The real problem is if you call for fundamental change, you might start to stop fighting for one victory at a time (environmentalist)... I wouldn't use the word myself. Socialism is the same as 'progress' in my opinion (labor leader)... I agree with him. It's the only answer (community leader)... Right on!'" (environmentalist)

CONFERENCE CONFLICTS EXPRESSED

Tom Donahue, executive assistant to the president of the AFL-CIO, set the tone for conflict among conference participants in remarks on "Priority Issues for Labor, Environment and Community and the Conflicts Between Them."

While stressing that labor's primary interest is to promote safe jobs, Donahue told conferees and other panel participants his constituency is not interested in how these jobs are generated.

Donahue's comments were prompted by a question on labor's interest in solar energy. "Nuclear energy is the way we're going," he said, "and we need jobs."

"Energy is ubiquitous," according to David Brower, another panelist and president of Friends of the Earth. "And now, thanks to government policies, the U.S. is on a nuclear brink. We will somehow make it, but sometimes I wish it wouldn't be such a damned photo finish."

The third panelist, Gale Cincotta, chairperson of National People's Action, faulted environmentalists as "elitists" who don't see the decay of inner city neighborhoods -- the crime, the abandonment of homes and community. "As a coalition we have a lot in common," she said, "but we don't see it that way, instead conflicts among interest groups are stressed."

ANNOUNCEMENTS

REPEAT WORKSHOPS: If there is a workshop you really want to go to and can't attend, sign up on wallposters at lunch today for repeat workshops which will be held tonight.

WEDNESDAY TASK FORCES AND WORKSHOPS: People who want to organize ongoing special workshops and task forces Wednesday morning and afternoon, must give notices to newsletter staff by 4:00 p.m. TODAY.

This provides a time for different interest groups to get together on state or national levels, to plan strategy for working together on common interests and goals. This is your chance to take what you have learned at the beginning of the conference and put it to work.

Caucus Announcements

Public Ownership of Electric Utilities Rm. F, Tuesday, 8:30

Consumers, trade unionists, and environmentalists will outline the case for public power: How to lower electric rates, develop alternative energy, and create community control over utilities. Also will discuss a takeover strategy. Co-convenors: Martin Baker, Washington Environmental Council; Mike Troutman, Environmental Action Foundation; Roger Wyatt, UAW and Citizens Energy Coalition (Indiana).

Michigan Caucus

Tuesday, 9:00 p.m., Rm. C

Survival of American Indian Association 8:45 Tuesday, Rm. A

Treaty rights, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Presidential address to American Indian on July 4th, and ending the political genocide and supression of Indian people will be discussed. Convenor: Myrna Boyd Small Salmon, VP, Montana State Low-Income.

Women's Caucus Room B, Tuesday, 8:45

If you believe that women can transcend the conflicts between environmentalists, labor, and community activists, come to this.

Coal Caucus Room G 8:30 Tuesday

Quotes of the day:

Barry Commoner explaining the Second Law of Thermodynamics: "Suppose there is a fly on the wall. I could kill it with a flyswatter -- that would be a good match thermodynamically. Or I could kill it with a cannonball. That would not be a good match. It would cause a lot of damage. That's what nuclear power does.

David Brower, discussing the effect of our current energy policies: "We'll have topped King Midas. Everything we touch will be kilowatts and everything we leave behind will be radioactive."

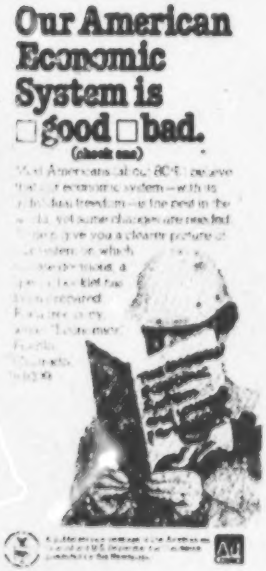
David Brower, quoting Alvin Reese: "When you've reached the edge of an abyss, the only progressive move you can make is to step backward."

Tom Donahue of the AFL-CIO:
"George Meany is a walking violation of the Clean Air Act."

Community, Worker Alliance, Rm. D, Tuesday 8:45

We would like to forge an alliance between environmentalists, workers, and community organizers who are concerned about the release of chemical pollution into the community. Using the Goodyear vinyl chloride plant in Niagara, N. Y. as a test case, we will discuss the kinds of toxic chemicals that end up in drinking water and in the air as a result of industrial processes and the ways in which labor and the community and environmentalists join forces to combat "community blackmail."

(More Caucus Announcements)



Air Pollution Caucus Tuesday, 8:45 Room J

Organize to prevent imminent gutting of Clean Air Act. Handles for improving mass transit, energy conservation, illness prevention, national park preservation, and rebuilding of cities.

Counter Advertising Campaign Caucus Room B Tuesday 7:30p

Ralph Nader's Public Interest Research Group is coordinating a nationwide drive to enact state legislation creating Residential Utility Consumer Action Groups (RUCAGs). The RUCAG proposal would establish democratically elected citizen defense boards--funded through voluntary check-offs on consumers' utility bills--to intervene on behalf of residential users in all utility matters.

Anyone interested in learning more about, or reacting to, the RUCAG concept should contact David Greenberg or Andrew Sharpless in Room 510.

Several people have made a request for a list of the conference attendents before the conference is over, so that they can make contacts.

Bread & Roses

NO EASY ANSWERS, PANEL CONCLUDES

The crucial question of whether economic reality supersedes environmental quality came before the Justice & Jobs conference Tuesday as a five-person panel debated the merits of a recent government move to bloack "economic blackmail" in Ohio's Mahoning Valley.

The area suffers from some of the worst air and water pollution in the country. But the Environmental Protection Agency believes that if strict federal water quality standards are applied to the local steel companies they will shut down rather than comply.

So EPA granted the companies an unusual exemption to water standards, saying it is confident that the steelmakers will cooperate when it is economically feasible for them to do so. Meanwhile, environmentalists, concerned that the exemption sets a dangerous precedent, are considering a lawsuit.

Tuesday's debate highlighted a number of issues, including the role of the local community development agency in the decision, the efforts of the steelworkers union to preserve the antiquated plants and the 20 to 25,000 jobs they represent (15% of the total workforce), and the means by which EPA arrived at its decision.

Unfortunately, the adversaries were unable to transcend the jobs vs. environment argument. William Sullivan, president of the valley's economic development agency, alluded to the need for economic diversity in the region as a solution. But the subject was dropped as panel members continued to argue their separate points of view, leading some listeners to conclude that we may be reviewing the same problems in Mahoning Valley five years hence.

The Energy Options workshop recommended that the following nuclear power issues be brought to the attention of legislators and congressmen: --Economics of nuclear power and no net energy--Reactor safety --Routine releases of heat and radio-nuclides--Sabotage & terrorism at the plant sites--International implications--Nuclear industry's record on reliability--Dependence on human perfection for safe operation.

WHAT ARE THE CORE GROUPS DOING?

After lengthy and informative "get acquainted" sessions, the 16 conference core groups settled down to the business at hand. Taking into account the varied priorities of the special interests represented, each core group attempted to narrow down its focus and come to a concensus on shared priorities. Problems such as worker relocation, urban flight, ineffective communication, and unemployment were discussed at length.

Here's what some of these groups are discussing:

Group 3 -- In searching for common priorities, the members focused in on the special problems of the inner city, the restructure of corporate control of the US economy, the need for increased input by public interest groups into all policy processes of regulatory agencies and industries, and the need for input by all three groups into the legislative processes.

Group 11 -- By discussing the special interests of the three groups, group members zeroed in on the need for resources redistribution (quality and cost of life), fair treatment and retraining of dislocated workers, education at the local level, inner city restructure, and full employment.

Group 8 -- After discussing general problems, the group decided that one of the top priorities of a community/labor/environmental coalition should be the attainment of full employment through legislation as well as direct citizen pressure at the national and state levels. Taken into consideration will be the impact on labor unions, neighborhoods, and environmental quality.

Group 2 -- The group concentrated on identifying issues of common concern -- discussing both the broader issues of social concern and areas of mutual economic concern. A discussion of models of interaction at the local level, organized political pressure on local regulatory agencies and structual reassessment of the entire political economy was held.

Group 1 -- After coming to a group concensus that the main problem was an attitude that "we each have to do our own thing", the members concluded that priorities included education, communication and political power.

Group 12 -- Discussion centered around the issues of minority hiring practices, inner city housing, and full employment.

Group 6 -- Included in the core group's discussion were the issues of full employment through legislation, nuclear power and growth/no-growth.

SPECIAL REPORTS FROM CORE GROUPS

"The claim that many people go hungry and cold in the world because there is inadequate food and fuel has no more basis in fact than the claim that some people in the U.S. are poor because there is not enough wealth to go around.

Core Group 8:

Re: Humphrey Hawkins Bill

A concensus of Core Group 8 saw fit to adopt the following resolutions:

- --That the bill should include provision for work for OLDER AMERICANS.
- --That the bill provide jobs for RURAL AMERICANS to develop public recreational facilities.
- --That GOVERNMENT INDUSTRY be developed to meet needs that the private sector cannot.

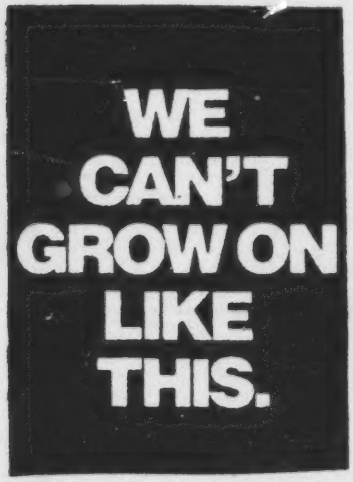
--That the jobs supported by Humphrey Hawkins be in environmentally sound and labor intensive industries.
--That there should be citizen participation in economic planning.
--That economic planning take place on a decentralized basis.

The nineteen members of Core Group 12, composed of representatives of Labor Environmental, Community, Church and Public Interest Organizations unanimously recommend that the following five points be discussed at a Second National Action Conference.

Furthermore, Core Group 12 recommends that no resolutions be passed on these five points or any other points at this first National Action Conference. This is to ensure that the valuable lines of communication established at this conference can be continued in the future.

The following five points for discussion are:

1. The common problem of society is the concentration of wealth.
2. The control of the production should be democratized.
3. A national coalition of issue groups should be developed to bring our platform to the Political system.
4. A national debate should be conducted on the merits of corporate capitalism vs. economic democracy.
5. There should be a guarantee of full employment.



PROFILE: MYRNA SMALL SALMON

As vice president of the Montana State Low Income Organization, president of the statewide low-income legislative lobby, Just Us, Inc., and a Montana Sioux, Small Salmon feels her people have been virtually ignored at this conference.

"All things this conference is representing should include aspects from all people," she says. "Poor people are not being listened to."

For example, she says no one is taking note of the political genocide of American Indians. "Indians are not asked what should be done with their land (110 million acres classified as "federal" land). Instead it is being capitalized by corporations. We need help in gaining control over reservation lands."

SPECIAL WORKSHOPS HELD AT 10:30

A cleaner country plus a million jobs in a new industry

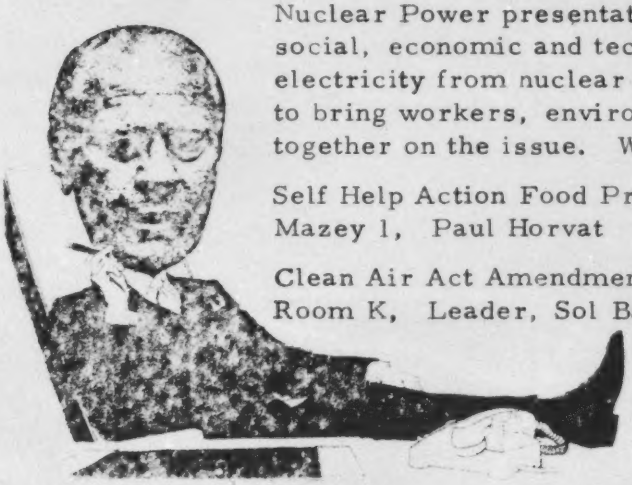
Special Combined Workshop on 1) continuation of Growth and the Poor, and 2) Urban Environment and community action for the Poor. Contact Paul Danels, Rm 430, or Gail Daneker Wednesday 10:30 am Room C.

Workshop to explore how Environmentalists For Full Employment (EFFE) can best serve the needs of labor, community and environmental groups around the country. EFFE is a Washington, DC based group formed last summer to promote the idea that it is possible simultaneously to: create jobs, protect the natural environment, safeguard the workplace environment and workers' rights and equities, and conserve natural resources. EFFE is offering to function as a resource center/clearing house on the jobs/environment issue. To be effective, we will need to work closely with people and groups nationwide. Wednesday, 10:30 am, Room A Leaders: Hazel Henderson, Peter Harnik, Richard Grossman

Great Lakes Tomorrow is an international organization to improve citizen participation in Great Lakes decisions. Goals; 1) Develop a significant group of citizens living in the GL Basin who understand and will participate in resource allocation in planning the uses of related water, land and other regional resources. 2) improve the understanding of ecological, economic and social trends at work in the GL Basin. Leaders: Dick Robbins, Exec. Dir. GLT, Don Williams, Mimi Becker Wednesday, 10:30 am Room H.

Minority Hiring: The Role of the Unions. Core Group 12 invites labor representatives, community organizers, and environmentalists to convene to discuss steps labor unions have taken to increase hiring of minorities and women. The mobilization of local community labor resources will serve as a central focus and should help improvement of the physical environment in the inner city and depressed rural areas. Information: Ginny Collette, Rm 427 Wednesday, 10:30, Room D

Clean Water Legislation: Workshop will address changes to the Clean Water Act of 1972 that are likely, changes that are needed, and changes that should be opposed. Industry is already pressing for the elimination of some of the Act's requirements. Contact: Lee Daneker, Khris Hall, Al Slap Wednesday 10:30 am Room F



Nuclear Power presentation of the major problems (environmental, social, economic and technical) associated with the generation of electricity from nuclear power. Development of concrete measures to bring workers, environmentalists and community groups closer together on the issue. Wednesday 10:30 & 1:30 Room I

Self Help Action Food Program in Chicago, Wednesday 10:30 Mazey 1, Paul Horvat

Clean Air Act Amendments will be discussed Wednesday 10:30 Room K, Leader, Sol Baltimore

WHITE-COLLAR CRIME: The biggest ripoffs aren't made with masks and guns.

5

There is enough for all the earth's inhabitants

State Economic Development Policy Workshop to draft a state-wide economic development policy using Colorado's proposed long-range development policy as the basis of discussion. Your ideas will be forwarded to Col. Gov. Lamm via the Col. Open Space Council. Copies of the proposed policy are available from Rick Jameson. Wed. 10:30 a.m. Room B

Catholic Campaign for Human Development Foundation workshop for community and environmental grassroots people who need more information about obtaining funds from churches and general foundations. Contact Doug Lawson, Kris Wisniewski Wed. 10:30a Rm J

SPECIAL WORKSHOPS HELD AT 1:30

Workshop on Military Conversion of factories i. e. from aerospace (B-1 bomber) and defense to mass transit. Leader: Mary Ann Wilner, Wednesday, 1:30 p.m. Rm B

National Land for People will show slides Wed. 1:30 Rm A

Health Planning Grants available under the 1975 National Health Planning and Resources Development Act and the potential for having considerable community imput on the planning process. Leader: Joe Schats, Wednesday, 1:30 Rm C

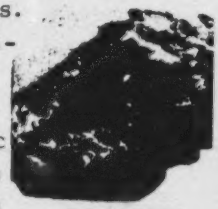
Legislation in Brief

These are brief synopses of the three bills under discussion at this conference:

Hawkins - Humphrey: mandates the federal government to bring unemployment down to 3 percent within four years

Toxic Substances Control: mandates testing of all potentially toxic chemicals and regulate their manufacture, usage and disposal would also protect employes against corporate retaliation if they "blow the whistle" on hazardous conditions.

National Employment Priorities Act (Mondale Ford): would require that a business intending to close or transfer a large portion of the operations of an establishment give written advance notice of its intent. The notice must include the reasons for closing, the extent of the potential unemployment the economic circumstances of the establishment and the concern, and plans to alleviate the economic loss to affected employees. Upon request of affected employees, an investigation of the circumstances of the closing or transfer, the potential economic losses, and recommendations for alleviating the losses or making unnecessary the closing or transfer.



PLUTONIUM

While cigarette smoking remains the biggest single cause of cancer and natural causes such as sunlight and radiation also are factors, the council said, "much of the remaining is probably associated with carcinogenic agents."

MORE ANNOUNCEMENTS

People leaving Thursday should not wait until the last minute to check out. Start checking out as early as possible on Thursday.

Anyone who wants to leave by air and was unable to make a reservation should sign-up by today at noon at the office above the main desk.

"Willy-nilly, the U.S. educational system is spawning a generation of semi-literates.

Environmental Education, anyone interested in curriculum on environmental education (I have developed some and need help in finding a use for it) please contact Narcia Elder, Rm 525

PROFILE

Hal Scott: A Man Behind This Conference

When the Florida Audubon Society tried to block a permit for the building of floating nuclear plants off the Florida coast last year, construction workers showed up at hearings in busloads to voice their support for the project.

Hal Scott, director of the Florida Audubon Society, was one of the ecologists who were fighting the energy development. "We tried to bridge the gap between labor and environmentalists," he says, "but it was unrealistic."

So Hal was excited about the idea of a conference with labor and environmentalists discussing problems together. He became one of the most active members of the Black Lake conference planning committee, and he also convinced several chapters of the Audubon Society to contribute money.

"This event is very important. We have to open up lines of communication between workers and environmentalists."

Hal and other members of the planning committee had originally hoped to have an even breakdown between environmental, labor, and community representatives. But it did not work out that way. "Environmental groups responded better to our requests. They're more strident than anybody else, you know."

"Ecology groups are in much the same position as Sam Gompers was in the labor movement 50 years ago," he adds. "We have to talk louder to be heard."

What does he think will result from this conference? "Regional meetings, with all constituencies involved, is the most important thing. It's not realistic to expect anything more than that, such as an active coalition."

Hal does not believe that environmentalists and unionists have basically different goals. "Woodcock's comments on the record of the Dirty Dozen shows that environmentalists and workers have the same enemies. We're for the common man, and they aren't: it's as simple as that."

(The Oil Companies and Inflation)
They can't rob us blind if we open our eyes.

Woodcock as seen on a TV monitor screen

NATIONAL AD CAMPAIGN TO CALL FOR A PUBLIC DEBATE ON THE ECONOMY

Responding to the massive pro-Big Business propaganda campaign now being waged by THE ADVERTISING COUNCIL, INC., Public Media Center has announced a TV, radio and print counter campaign to place the issues of the economy, jobs, and the environment before the American people in this bicentennial-election year.

PMC is asking every organization at this conference to endorse this counter campaign and to help get spots on the air under the Fairness Doctrine. Contact Roger Hickey, PMC, 1910 N St., NW, Washington, DC 20036.

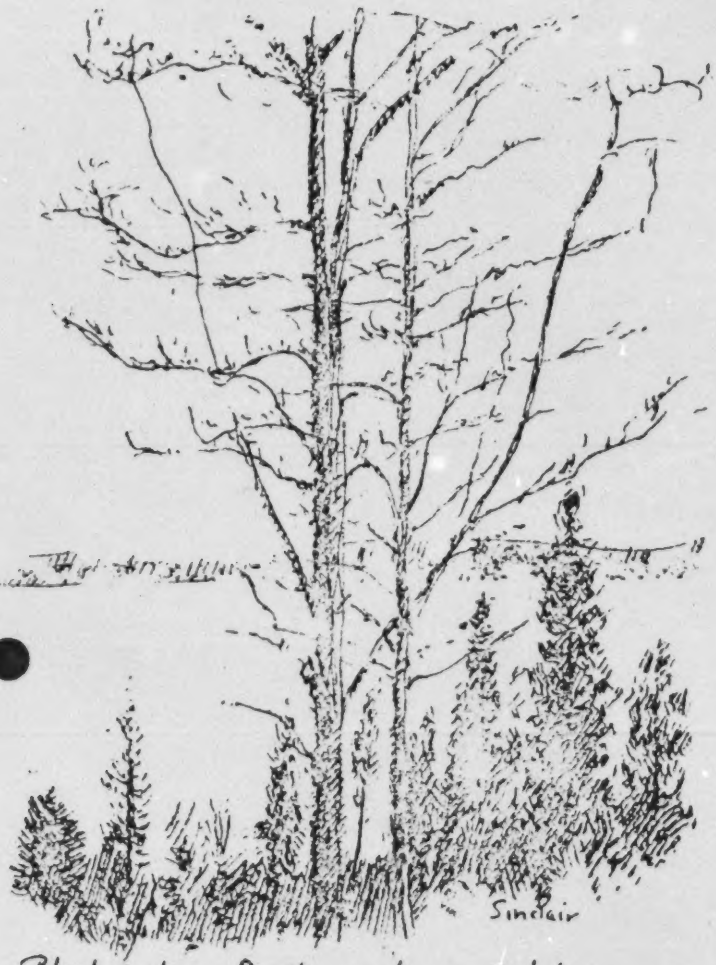
James M. Beck, a lawyer, a U.S. attorney and a member of Congress early in the 20th Century had this to say:

"Diogenes would have been hard put to it to find an honest man in the Wall Street which I knew as a corporation lawyer."

"Among other helpers, Ford had a $40,000-a-year joke writer, Bob Orben, who used to do the same thing for Jack Paar and Red Skelton, and a $40,000 personal TV director, Robert Mead, who prohibited Ford from eating for two hours before TV appearances to prevent on-camera belches.

Conference Newsletter, Final Edition May 6, 1976

Bread & Roses



Black Lake- for those who missed it.

The steering committee and the conference participants deeply appreciate the untiring efforts of the staff of BREAD & ROSES, who labored each night to be able to distribute the news each morning.

(classified)

This newsletter has been produced by Tom Riesenberg, Barb Clark, Deborah Baldwin, Robin Tawney, Peter Sinclair, Roger Hickey

EMERGENCY ALERT ON THE TOXIC SUBSTANCES LEGISLATION

We have received word from Washington that the Toxic Substances Control Bill is bogged down in the House Commerce Committee. If the Committee does not report the bill out by May 15, 1976, it will not be funded until 1978 at the earliest. It is therefore crucial that the Committee move immediately.

ANNOUNCEMENT:

A 2-3 hour tour of the Pigeon River Country State Forest oil field site will be conducted by Ned Caveny, Mich. Dept. of Natural Resources for any interested conferees, leaving at 12:50 p.m. today from the main lobby. Transportation can be provided, or you may car-pool or drive. Please sign up on the Dining Room message board or main lobby desk, we need to know how many to plan for.

WHERE IS THE AVERAGE TYPICAL AMERICAN?

Probably sitting at home drinking Brazilian coffee from an English cup, with his feet on his Persian rug, eating Swiss cheese after returning from seeing an Italian movie in his German made car, sitting at his Scandinavian desk, writing a letter to his Congressman with a ball point pen made in Tokyo. C. R.

We made a beginning...

CONFERENCE SPONSORS

NATIONAL

A. Philip Randolph Institute
American Association of Retired Persons
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees
Catholic Committee on Urban Ministry
Center for Science in the Public Interest
Children's Foundation
Citizens for a Better Environment
Coalition of Black Trade Unionists
Coalition of Labor Union Women
Common Cause
Communications Workers of America
Consumers Action Now
Consumers Federation of America
Defenders of Wildlife
Environmental Action
Environmental Defense Fund
Environmental Policy Center
Environmentalists for Full Employment
Friends of the Earth
Graphic Arts International Union
Highlander Education and Research Center
International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers
International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers
International Union, UAW
Izaak Walton League of America
Joint Center for Urban Environmental Education
Movement for Economic Justice
National Audubon Society
National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs
National Council of Churches—Division of Church and Society
National Council of Churches—Economic Concerns Task Force
National Council of Senior Citizens
National Farmers Union
National Retired Teachers Association
National Self-Help Action Center, Food Program
National Urban League
National Wildlife Federation
Natural Resources Defense Council
Scientists Institute for Public Information
Sierra Club
Task Force Against Nuclear Pollution
Textile Workers Union of America
The Wilderness Society
United Church Board for Homeland Ministries
United Mine Workers
United States Catholic Conference—Social Development
United Steelworkers of America, District 29
Urban Environment Conference
Zero Population Growth

LOCAL, STATE AND REGIONAL

ACORN (AR)
Arkansas Ecology Center, Inc.
Canton Urban League (OH)
Center for the Public Interest (MT)
Center for Urban Encounter (MN)
Chicago Urban League
Citizen Alert (NV)
Citizens Energy Coalition (IN)
Citizens Regional Environmental Coalition (WI)
Clear Air Campaign, Inc. (NY)
Clear Air-Clean Water Unlimited (MN)
Cleveland Consumer Action Initiative '76
Colorado Open Space Council
Colorado Public Interest Research Group
Committee for the Environment and Jobs (WI)
Consumer Action (CA)
Cut Cane Associates (NC)
Deprived Poor Americans, Inc. (PA)
East Tennessee Energy Group
Eco-Justice Task Force (NY)
Ecology Center of Louisiana
Environmental Planning Lobby (NY)
Environmental Response (MO)
Florida Audubon
Florida Defenders of the Environment
Friends of the Earth—South Central NY State
Georgia Power Project
Get Oil Out (CA)
Grand Rapids Urban League Tenants Union (MI)
Greensboro YWCA (NC)
Human Affairs Program, Utilities and Energy Project (NY)
Idaho Conservation League
Indiana Division Izaak Walton League
Institute for Public Transportation (NY)
Institute for Southern Studies (NC)
Iowa Public Interest Communications
Iowa Student Public Interest Research Group
La Federation de Organizaciones del Valle (TX)
Lake Michigan Federation
Maine Coast Heritage Trust
Marine Environmental Council of Long Island (NY)
Metropolitan Washington Coalition for Clean Air
Michigan Council of Senior Citizens
Michigan Student Environmental Confederation
Montana Low-Income Organization
Northcoast Environmental Center (CA)
Northern Environmental Council (MI)
Northern Rockies Action Group
New York Public Interest Research Group
Ohio Public Interest Campaign
Oregon Environmental Council
Public Interest Research Group in Michigan
Research and Design Institute (RI)
Santa Barbara Coalition Against Oil Pollution (CA)
Save the Dunes Council (IN)
Sigrud Olson Institute of Environmental Studies (WI)
South Dakota Environmental Coalition
Texas Committee on Natural Resources
Urban Appalachian Council (OH)
Urban League of Greater Muskegon
Vermont Alliance
Wisconsin's Environmental Decade

Funding for the Conference came in part from the following:

Communications Workers of America

Conservation Foundation

Florida Audubon Society

Ford Foundation

International Union, UAW

Massachusetts Audubon Society

National Audubon Society

National Environmental Education Act of 1970 (PL 91-516)
(as amended by PL 93-278)

National Wildlife Federation

United Presbyterian Church

United Steelworkers of America, District 29